

THE BEGINNINGS
OF
THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH
("MORAVIANS")
IN ENGLAND.

*A Chapter of the Commerce of Thought between
Germany and England.*

AN INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

DELIVERED BY

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BEFORE THE

PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG,

On the occasion of his taking his Doctor's Degree.

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EXPLANATORY AND DEDICATORY NOTE.

The Translator of Dr. Wauer's Dissertation wishes in the first place to thank the Author for putting his work at disposal for translation, and for the confidence placed by him in a stranger's ability to do justice to the German original in the English language.

It is to be hoped that his confidence is not misplaced. For not only is the ability trusted in limited, but it is taxed to the uttermost by the peculiar difficulties presenting themselves to it.

Apart from the fact that, generally speaking, the more idiomatically a book is written in one language, as this is in German, the harder it is to render it in the idiom of another language,—apart from this, three difficulties have made themselves felt in the production of an English version of "*Die Anfaenge der Bruederkirche in England*" (Fr. Jauza, Leipzig, 1900).

Firstly, the translator had ever to keep in mind that some of his readers will probably be little acquainted with the Moravian Church its usages and terminology,—a fact that may easily lead to misapprehension of some of the expressions used.

Secondly—and this is also connected with the difference of classes among readers—while the original is a learned Dissertation that was read before a faculty of a University, its reproducer in English has had to cater for two different tastes, that of the more or less expert historical student, and that of the general reader. For it is plain that some expressions that are quite current among the former class, will be wholly unintelligible to the other.

Thirdly—again a point in connection with the requirements of the two classes of readers just mentioned—the intimation of the sources from which Dr. Wauer drew his information, is given in the form of footnotes in the body of his book. But

this method, however agreeable it may be to the student, is apt to annoy the general reader. While, therefore, the one was not to be robbed of what he considers essential, care had to be taken that the other should not be troubled with that which he could make no possible use of.

The first danger the Translator has tried to minimise by indicating any peculiarly Moravian use of words by the simple expedient of putting such within inverted commas.

Whether the second difficulty has been surmounted, the reader to whichever class he may belong, will be best able to judge. But each will be good enough to credit the Translator with the wish to be neither insulting to the one, when he explains what to him is perfectly intelligible, nor inconsiderate of the other, when he uses expressions (sometimes in another tongue) and turns of thought, that demand a certain amount of consideration, enquiry, and, perhaps, even reference to books not in the possession of everybody. The one will, after all, suffer no harm, while the other may be actually benefitted by the necessity for thought and research.

The third difficulty has led to a compromise, only numbers being inserted in the text referring to correspondingly numbered notes in Appendix I. In Appendix II. some sources used by the Author, but not specially referred to, are given.

The translation itself is of a rather free nature, and may have blemishes that are not attributable to the author of the original treatise.

Special thanks are due to the Rev. L. G. Hassé, Principal of the Moravian College at Fairfield, near Manchester, who has been kind enough to thoroughly revise the proof sheets.

Without permission either from Synod or the Directing Board of the British Province of the Moravian Church, but with hearty goodwill, this book is dedicated to his beloved Church by

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INTRODUCTION.

Among the numerous religious bodies in England, there is one which appears to form an exception to the rule that the English rigidly shut out foreign ways. This must be regarded as phenomenal. The Church alluded to is indeed of foreign origin, yet not one formed by foreigners in England in connection with their national church abroad. Its membership consists rather, with very few exceptions, of people of pure English descent. Quite in keeping with this is the fact that its official designation—"Church of the United Brethren"—conceals its foreign origin. Nevertheless, the consciousness of the foreign root from which it sprang is kept alive by the popular names it goes by—"Moravian Church," "Moravian Brethren," or, briefly, "Moravians."

This name is not quite apt; for neither has the Society ever, even mainly, consisted of people from Moravia, nor was it founded by such, nor does it bear the impress of anything peculiar to Moravia. Nevertheless, the name does not lack historical justification. For the men whose preaching gave the impetus to the beginning of the Church of the Brethren in England, belonged to the small Renewed Church of the Brethren that came into being in Herrnhut under Count Zinzendorf's protection, and was originated, and to a considerable extent developed, by exiles from Moravia. And it was the self-sacrificing spirit and faithful testimony of these genuine Moravians that made the deepest and perhaps the decisive impression on the English mind.

In spite of this, however, we cannot define as specifically Moravian either the influences thus coming from Germany or the fruit produced. We rather find already in the German Congregations of the Church the peculiar genius of the Moravians so strongly mixed with purely German elements and modes of thought, that it would be proper to speak of German rather than Moravian national influence.

But even if the Renewed Church of the Brethren be regarded as the offspring of German spirituality, it is none the less striking that it should have found entrance into England; for we cannot explain this fact by merely stating that at the time a German Elector was sitting on the English throne, and that consequently the points of contact between England and Germany were more numerous. On the contrary, at critical stages it was the influential German circles in England that were openly opposed to the Moravians. And, again, the influence of the German element at the Court exercised hardly any appreciable effect on the lower classes of the population, from which members were for the most part drawn to the Moravian Church. At the same time, it was also people of the lower classes who violently attacked the Brethren because they were foreigners.

It is still more remarkable that this Church with a foreign name found footing in England, when we remember that its first appearance was contemporaneous with the rise of a genuinely English religious movement, Methodism, and that there arose a kind of rivalry between the two, in which the foreign church gained one advantage over its competitor, viz., recognition as a Church by the State.

It is therefore clear that the secret of its rooting in England must be sought in its own characteristics.

In addition to the existence of a few external similarities, which recommended the Brethren's Church to the various English Churches, there is, firstly, the fact that it sought to supply religious needs as widely felt in England as in Germany. Further, its power of self-adaptation was at

that period the greater, because it was in a state of development with regard to its outward form. By reason of this adaptability, the first congregations formed in England so completely met the wants of the people, and enjoyed so free a development, that it became a question whether their connection with Germany could be maintained. The original free societies formed on a Moravian basis grew into settled congregations with a double tendency—firstly, to acquire a firm footing in their surroundings; and secondly, to come to a clear understanding as to their relations to the Mother Church in Germany.

The object of these pages is therefore to show how the Ancient Brethren's Church in the XVII., and the Renewed Church in the XVIII. Century became known in England: how the teaching of the latter spread there: how various congregations were formed: and what shape this development assumed in various cases.

THE LITERATURE AND SOURCES OF THE SUBJECT.

Apart from the published general histories of the Brethren's Church, which merely touch on the beginnings of the Church in England, there are only three larger works on our subject, viz.:—J. Plitt: (in German), *The Brethren's Congregations in England till 1755*. M.S. in Herrnhut; Daniel Benham: *Memoirs of James Hutton*. London, 1856; A. C. Hassé: *A Historical Sketch of the United Brethren in England from 1641—1722*. London, 1867.

All the more numerous, especially for the first period, are the other and most various sources, both in print and M.S.

Such exist in the M.S. collection of the British Museum, Lambeth Palace Library, the Archives of the Provincial Elders' Conference, and of the London Congregation (32, Fetter Lane, E.C.), and the Archives of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, 2,

Castle Street, City Road, London; in Oxford: the Rawlinson M.S. collection in the Bodleian Library, and M.S.S. in Christ Church College; in Herrnhut: The Archives of the Brethren's Unity. The author desires herewith to express his thanks to the various heads of Colleges and Librarians for their kind assistance and permission to use the collections.

[The author here enumerates and describes 105 such sources which he has used. - In this translation an Appendix contains references to them as they occur in the text.]

I.

THE RELATIONS OF THE ANCIENT BRETHREN'S CHURCH WITH ENGLAND.

The Brethren's Church in England is a branch of the Renewed Brethren's Church in Germany, which dates its origin back to the year 1727, and could therefore lay claim to previous intercourse with England through the Ancient Church from which it sprang. This intercourse, which in a manner served as its legitimation, was but the expression of manifold points of contact which the Brethren's Church found in England by reason of its historical development and its character.

A purely external factor in the ease with which communications with England were established, lay in the history of the Church's origin. As far back as the year 1457 a society had been formed, called "Brethren of the Law of Christ," or "Unitas Fratrum," by men in Bohemia who were dissatisfied with the corruption and half-heartedness of their Utraquistic Hussite national church (1). Seeking a pure doctrine and holy life, they left the Romish Church, and, naturally, eventually came into touch with the Churches of the Reformation. Owing to its prior and unique origin, the Brethren's Church took a position superior to, or intermediate between such Churches, even when they were hostile to one another, and could regard them as either filial or sister Churches (2). But its relation to the Anglican Church was peculiar by reason of its having arisen through the reformation of Huss. For the latter, as a reformer, was indebted to Wickliffe. So that the Brethren's Church could in its origin be traced back to the effect of English influence.

In carrying out their reformation, the Brethren retained as much of the doctrine and church order of the Bohemian national Church as appeared to them to be sanctioned by the Bible—amongst other things the episcopate, though with materially curtailed authority. The episcopal consecration they obtained in 1467 from the Waldenses in Austria (3). This feature was calculated to recommend the Church to the Anglicans.

For intimate relations with other evangelical Churches, the Brethren's Church was even better adapted by other and deeper-lying characteristics. While seeking a church order that should be in harmony with the Bible, it did not, as other Churches did, attach the main importance to a scientific formulation of its doctrine, and consequently never laid much stress on a strict creed. In this way, it acquired the character of a Unionist Church, and could associate with both the Utraquists and Lutherans of Bohemia (4); and subsequently the Polish branch of the Church, which arose in the latter half of the XVI. Century, was able to unite with Lutherans and Calvinists in the *Consensus Sendomiriensis* (5). The importance the Brethren attached to church discipline and rule, which formed one of the most prominent features of their Church, and the fact that from the very first, Presbyters took charge of the congregations, and that Synods met regularly (6)—all this naturally brought them into even closer relationship with the Reformed Churches, to such an extent indeed, that during the disturbances caused by the Thirty Years' War and under pressure of the Anti-Reformation, the Polish congregations of the Brethren's Church combined with the Reformed Church of Poland, so far as regarded management and government (7). Further, everything that favoured union with the Reformed Churches was bound to facilitate cordial relations with the Presbyterians and Puritans in England and Scotland.

In addition to this, the Brethren were animated by an ardent desire to enter into the most intimate relations possible with other Churches. For the more violently their Church was

assailed by the anti-reformation party and the less prospect there was of its being able to offer successful resistance unaided, the more necessary was it for them to seek allies in the battle with Romanism.

On the part of England, there had been, since the beginning of the XVII. Century, a decided inclination to exchange friendly assurances with such a foreign church. The desire for union amongst the Reformed Churches, which had been re-awakened on the Continent by the Thirty Years' War, was evoked also in England after the troublous times of the Civil War, and found, for instance, in Cromwell an ardent supporter (8). The English of the XVII. Century were particularly interested in a church which, like that of the Brethren, was engaged in conflict with Roman Catholicism, seeing that they were assailing the same enemy in their own country. Thus it came that there was always a portion of the population that watched with interest the movements of the Brethren's Church, and eventually lent a willing ear to cries for help coming from that quarter. English self-consciousness and liberality were not appealed to in vain.

It is clear that the advantage arising from intercourse between a flourishing church like the Anglican Establishment, and a persecuted and moribund church, was chiefly enjoyed by the latter. Whereas the Bohemian Church had been, at first, in a position to offer as much benefit to her English sister as she received from her, such conditions soon became altered, and the Anglican Church became the sole benefactress, while the Bohemian Church had to assume more and more frequently the role of importunate petitioner. In the last stage it is a melancholy sight—the Brethren's Church, doomed to extinction, faithfully supported by its English friends, who were, however, unable to ward off the final blow.

The commencement of the Brethren's relations with England was full of promise: it was when the Brethren's Church was enjoying a period of internal and external prosperity. The reigns of Maximilian II. and Rudolf II. secured peace to the

Brethren, and it was at this time that union with the Reformed Churches was sedulously cultivated. A proof of this is seen in the fact that already in 1549 three young men were sent to study at the University of Bâle (9). Similarly in 1576 four students went to Heidelberg, then under the influence of the Reformation. This led to a closer intimacy with the Church of the Palatinate and its theologians (10). Presumably with the view of making the Brethren's Church better known among other Churches, one of these four students, Bernard by name, crossed over to England (11). In 1583 he took his B.D. at Oxford, whence he intended to proceed to Scottish Universities. In Clark, Register of the University of Oxford (1887), Vol. II., Part I., p. 380, there is this entry: "Bernardus, John, a Moravian, was allowed to supply B.D. He had studied theology for ten years in German Universities, and was now going to the Universities of Scotland." Though we do not know whether he succeeded in forming any connections of value to the Brethren, we are under no doubts of this being the case with regard to another representative of the Brethren's Church—Johann Amos, of Comna.

This man, generally known as Comenius, had made himself a name by the "*Janua linguarum reserata*," which he edited in 1631, a work that was translated into twelve European languages. Already, in 1633, Thomas Horne, M.A., edited a "*Janua linguarum*" (12) which, in Anthony à Wood's opinion, is wholly or partly a reproduction of Comenius's work. Seeing that there is evidence of a fourth edition of Comenius's "*Janua*" translated, with the title "*The Gate of Tongues Unlocked and Opened; or else a Summary or Seed-Plot of all Tongues and Sciences*," we may safely infer that there had been a third edition, though it is impossible to fix the date of it. According to the custom of the time, the original "*Janua*" and Horne's reproduction of it were reckoned as the first and second editions.

There may have been earlier relations of Comenius with Englishmen, but certainly they did not begin much later than this. He held a two-fold position, as educationist and

ecclesiastic. In which of these two capacities he first made personal acquaintance with England, cannot be determined; for the earliest document dealing with this question is puzzling. It is an undated and unsigned letter, the contents and style of which point to Comenius as its writer. He therein complains that children are being neglected, and calls upon the theologians of England to take pity on them. He explains that he cannot do this himself, because he is cut off from the use of books and the printing press, and has constantly to be upon his guard against his Popish persecutors. This statement could not apply to Comenius (13) after the year 1628. It is also impossible to say to whom the letter is addressed. Judging from what we know of the circumstances, we might think of either of two men as likely, viz.: the Englishman Dury, or the German Hartlib, who lived in London. The former may have been induced to make Comenius's acquaintance by his interest in ecclesiastical questions; the latter as an enthusiastic educationist.

Johannes Duraeus (John Dury) was in 1628 the minister of the English congregation at Elbing, where Hartlib's grandfather had induced an English company to establish itself (14). Now as a congregation of the Brethren's Church is known to have existed in the same place (15), it is certain that Dury became acquainted with the Church. He was employed by the British and Swedish Governments as their intermediary from 1628 till 1630, when, his congregation having become scattered during the turmoil of the Thirty Years' War, he, with the approval of both Governments, entered upon a life of wandering and began a copious correspondence with the object of uniting the various Protestant parties. During the first part of this activity, viz., until 1641, he also entered into relations with various Protestant groups in Poland, amongst others, with the Brethren's Unity at Lesna (Lissa) (16). Now Comenius had been engaged in this town as a teacher since 1626. In 1632 he was consecrated a Bishop, and from 1636 was, along with Martin Gertichius, the representative of the Brethren's Unity

(17). If, then, we may assume the fact that during the third decade of the XVII. Century Dury was acquainted with the Brethren's Unity, we must regard it as probable that he knew Comenius. Though this connection between England and the Brethren was the result of their common desire for union, it was Comenius's fame as an educationist that led to his making the acquaintance of Hartlib.

Even should the letter, above alluded to, neither have been written by Comenius before 1628, nor addressed to Hartlib, we may yet assume that the latter became early acquainted with the Brethren. For Samuel Hartlib was born towards the close of the XVI. Century, at Elbing, and went before 1628 to England, where he lived as a merchant, though we know nothing about the nature of his business (18). He was an enthusiastic philanthropist, interesting himself in everything that might be expected to make the world better. We know that at one time he founded "A Little Academy for the Education of the Children of the Gentry of this Nation, to advance Piety, Learning, Morality and other Exercises of Industry, not usual in Common Schools." (19). It is said that a rich man placed a mansion at his disposal for this purpose. That already at that time he had any knowledge of Comenius cannot be proved, yet we may regard it as probable, judging from the moral and religious character of the proposed institution. Soon after, at any rate, he began to correspond with Comenius, and in 1636 he was recognised as one of the five chief supporters of the latter's ideas (20). Through the Leipzig "Messkatalog" and from Moravian students he heard of Comenius's intention to write a "Pansophia." In reply to his request for detailed information on the subject, Comenius supplied him with a rough sketch of the plan he had marked out. Without the author's permission (21), Hartlib had this printed at Oxford in 1637, with the title: "Conatuum Comenianorum Praeludia," a copy of which is in the British Museum. Though not pleased, Comenius was evidently not very angry. Hartlib was disappointed with the small effect produced by the book; neverthe-

less it helped to spread the fame of Comenius. Before publishing his "Didactica Magna," he sent an extract from it to Hartlib, who published it as Part IV. of "Comenii Pansophiae Pro-dromus." What Hartlib and his friends had in view was the founding of an Academy for the Study of Natural Science, and the publication of the above sketches was meant to further their object (22).

With the same object in view, Hartlib in 1641 invited Comenius to come to England (23). The latter, on his arrival on the 22nd September, 1641, heard for the first time that this invitation had been given at the instance of the British Parliament. But as no intimation of the kind is to be found either in the Journal of Parliament (issued much later by order of Parliament), or in Hansard and Cobbett's Parliamentary History, it is probable that one or more of the members of Parliament had merely expressed some such wish (24). Indeed, Parliament was just at the time occupied with the consideration of the state of the Universities and their administration. But when Comenius arrived in London, the King had left for Scotland. He had therefore to wait, spending the winter in England, and finishing his "Via Lucis" (25), a work that reflected the warm, hopeful light of the bright prospect opening out before him. From Parliamentary circles he heard that there was some thought of placing him at the head of some University College—the Savoy, or Chelsea, or Winchester. The appointment of a Commission to consider the matter was, however, postponed until some more pressing matters of State should be disposed of. But the subsequent outbreak of the Civil War put an end to all such plans. Comenius had therefore to return home in the spring of 1642. Before finally leaving England, however, he had a copy made of his M.S., so that, should he suffer shipwreck, the fruit of all his labour might not be lost.

His English friends were offended by his giving preference to De Geer's invitation to settle in the small town of Elbing (26). It is owing to this circumstance, probably, that for the next

three years we have only one letter of recommendation by Dury and one letter from Hartlib (27). But this does not mean that there had been a complete rupture or a decline of Comenius's influence in England. On the contrary, we subsequently find him in regular though infrequent correspondence with Hartlib almost up to the close of the life of the latter, in which the scientific questions that interested these English circles, as well as prophetic utterances, and even politics, find a place (28). Hartlib published for Comenius and his pupil Kinner several books in the years 1642—1654, these being partly translations of their writings, and partly free reproductions of their ideas. Hartlib's friend, Beale, also corresponded with Comenius (29), and then in the fourth decade of the century a modest society was formed, which grew in 1660 to be the Royal Society of London, and took the place of the proposed new University, to the proposed inauguration of which Comenius had been invited (30). During all this time Dury had been in lively correspondence with the members of the Society, and directed their attention to Comenius. Thus the interest in his educational work spread in ever wider circles in England, and necessitated in 1662 a second edition of his "Reformation of Schools." This was probably after Hartlib's death.

That his fame as an educationist thus spread further and further in England, is for us of importance only in so far as it formed a foundation for him to work upon in his advocacy of the claims of his Church. As a Churchman, he had at first been charmed with the life he had found in the English Churches (31); but he could not disguise his disapproval of the subsequent development of ecclesiastical affairs, particularly the acts of the Westminster Assembly and the Independents. He wrote "*Independentia Eternarum Confusionum Origo: Spectamini venerabilis Naturalia (sic) Synodi, in Nomine Christi Londini in Anglia congregatae subjecta, A.D. 1648*" (copy in the Library of the University of Leipzig). In this he counsels union, reproving the Presbyterians for their unbrotherly treatment of the Episcopalians, and warning the latter against overrating

the episcopacy, while he especially accuses the Independents of harbouring revolutionary intentions.

This was the last occasion on which a member of the Ancient Brethren's Church offered his services to England. Subsequently the Brethren were compelled by their misfortunes to seek help, and then it was that the above-mentioned characteristics of their Church stood them in good stead; for by virtue of those characteristics they were assured of gaining ready compliance with their petitions from many an Englishman, were he Episcopalian or Presbyterian.

Nor was Comenius slow to use his influence on behalf of his Church in her time of need. He acquainted his English friends with the persecution his fellow-believers in Poland were suffering at the hands of the Papists. He also sent various assistants to England, among others Petrus Figulus, of Jablonska, who subsequently married his daughter. It was this man especially who kept Hartlib's friends well informed concerning the Brethren's Unity (32).

In 1656 the last centre of the Brethren, Lissa, was destroyed by the Poles, and the townspeople, among whom Comenius had been living for two years, were compelled to flee. Received by De Geers in Amsterdam, Comenius at once took steps to procure aid for his people. Amongst the rest, he wrote to Hartlib, to whom he had already reported the calamity, requesting him to ask English Protestants for help, such as they had given to the Protestants of the Palatinate and Piedmont, and mentioning that three collections which had been set on foot had been failures (33). About these we have no information; but it is possible that the English translation of his "Synopsis Historica Persecutionum" was in some way connected with them. In order to create practical sympathy with the fourth collection, Comenius wrote his "Excidium Lesnense," and in 1657 sent the Brethren Hartmann and Cyrill to England. These laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury a M.S. entitled: "Ultimus in Protestantibus Bohemiarum confessionis ecclesiarum Antichristi furor," which is still to be seen in Lambeth Palace.

It gives a description of the barbarous treatment of the Protestants. A copy somewhat altered was printed and presented by the two messengers to the Lord Protector. Cromwell authorised them to collect throughout England (34). They were summoned before Parliament, and received £50 for their personal expenses. Subscription lists were opened throughout England, and as a result of two years' work (1658-9), £5,900 flowed into the coffers of the Brethren; the University of Cambridge alone (35) contributing £56. Smaller sums continued to come in until the year 1661.

It may be mentioned here that Adam Samuel Hartmann, one of the men sent by Comenius to England, was the son of Adam Hartmann, the historian. His brother Paul was a clergyman of the Anglican Church in Shillingford, Berks. Adam Samuel himself had been minister of the Reformed Church at Lissa from 1652—1656, whither he returned in 1662, having as co-minister Guelich. He was D.D. of the University of Frankfort, and in 1680 took the like degree at Oxford (see Foster, "Alumni Oxonienses, II."). He was Suffragan of the Polish branch of the Brethren's Unity, and at a Synod at Lissa was consecrated a Bishop on the 28th October, 1673. In 1690 he was called to Memel, and died at Amsterdam in the following year, while on a journey to visit his brother in England.

But the distress was too great to be relieved by even such munificent gifts, and Comenius was obliged to admit to himself that his beloved Church was doomed to destruction. In order to preserve the good that he saw to be in the Brethren's Church, and, if possible, still to benefit the Church itself, he in 1660 published two books. The first of these was a Latin edition of Lasicky's "The Discipline and Order of the Church of the Bohemian Brethren," and the second "Ratio Disciplinae Ordinisque Ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum," which he dedicated to the Anglican Church. The latter work was personally presented to Charles II. in Holland, as he was returning to England to ascend the throne. It was then translated into English, probably in the beginning of 1661. Hartlib

read it in Latin in 1660, and promised Worthington to send him eight copies and to write to Comenius asking him for a copy of the creed of the Bohemian Brethren (36). Kennet (37) mentions already in 1660 "An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England," which differs little so far as regards the title from the copy in the British Museum, dated 1661. As it is improbable that there were two editions in so short a time, the disagreement of dates may be put down to the fact that until 1751 the official year did not commence before the 1st March. In the English translation the dedication to the King comes first. Here Comenius refers to the fact that he had been requested by both parties in the English Church to inform them of the constitution of the *Unitas Fratrum*, as they might possibly gain instruction from it. But since private persons had no influence in public affairs, he desired to lay his treatise at the feet of the King, with the prayer that he would recommend the reading of it to the contending parties in the Anglican Church, so that a schism might be prevented. Then there follows a foreword by Joshua Tymarchus (38), the translator, a London clergyman otherwise unknown. After this the address to the Anglican Church begins with those celebrated solemn words "Ego vero inter ultimos ultimus, eheu! Antistes, ostium post me (in conspectu Vestro, o Ecclesiae!) claudio (39)!" (But I, the last Bishop, alas, amongst the last of my people, close the door after me in your sight, O Churches!). The aged prophet reminds the church beaten about by the storm, that good is ever the outcome of such disturbances. Hence it is that he does not quite despair of his own Church, which seems to be on the eve of dissolution. He places this book as a memorial on the graves of the departed, in addition to Lasicky's work, in order that what was good and wholesome in the Bohemian Brethren's Unity might not be lost. He concludes with the ardent prayer: "Finally, may your Church, by the grace of God, come forth from her trials clear as the moon, bright as the sun at noonday, and terrible as an army in battle array; nay, may she be a mirror for all the churches

of the world. Amen. This is the heartfelt prayer of the warmest advocate of the peace, order, and well-being of the Church, J. A. Comenius of Moravia." Then a brief history of the Slavonic Church is followed by a note of the translator's to the reader, in which he advocates the maintenance of order. Then comes, with the omission of the "Ratio Disciplinae," the "Paraenesis" to the Anglican Church. In the latter the author makes bold to place before that Church the Bohemian Church as a pattern, not as if it had been his creation, but that of wise men. Her chief recommendations are that she had been a Communion of Saints for so long a period, and had thus proved her validity; that she can find a home under a monarchy by reason of her episcopate, under an oligarchy by reason of her presbytery, and in a republic by reason of her synodal government; that her constitution is best calculated to counteract the evils common to all times. Then he implores the members of the Anglican Church to remember their duty as Christians, to be of one mind, telling the clergy that they should in this be patterns to the laity. Further, he insists on the importance of order and discipline. The latter must be exercised in a watchful, strict, and serious spirit, to minister to edification. Finally, the Holy Spirit must fill the Church, in order that everything that is not of God may be removed, and that nothing be done by violence. The English Church he regards as a city set on a hill. He warns her not to go the way of the German Protestants, losing the power and rights of ecclesiastical authority, and becoming thus worse than the Roman Church. On the main point he refers his readers to the "Independentia," recommends a combination of the three forms of Church-government, and warns against pompous ceremonies and worldly riches, and the secular power of the Bishops.

In 1703 an anonymous translation of "Ratio Disciplinae," which was omitted, as above stated, appeared, entitled: "Primitive Church Government, in the Practice of the Reformed Church in Bohemia" (British Museum). As this occurred just when the strife between High and Low Church

was at its hottest (40), we may therefore perhaps conclude that the translator belonged to the ranks of the Latitudinarians.

The endeavour of the aged Bishop Comenius to obtain help for his Church from England was crowned with some measure of success; but on the other hand, he lost support in Hungary. There the King, in the summer of 1661, forbade the continuance of the collections, and even the remittance of money already collected. Comenius petitioned against this, but all the comfort he got up to the 9th December was the hope held out of favourable consideration (41). This appears at last to have been given when the money came to hand (42); but begging-journeys had to be often repeated. Adam Hartmann, who had gone on the like errand to England in 1657, repeated his visit in the next year. He approached Prince Rupert of the Palatinate, a cousin of the King's, and through him sought the aid of the King and Parliament; with what result, however, we do not know (43). He may have undertaken a third journey with the same object in view. In accordance with a resolution of the Synod at Lissa, he at any rate wrote a letter, dated the 10th February, 1683, to his brother Paul, again asking for help. This was successful. Charles II. issued a Cabinet order, and Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Compton, Bishop of London, represented the need of the Brethren in a pamphlet addressed to the pious public of England. The condition of the Protestants in Poland, including the Brethren, must have formed the subject of much consultation in England, as is evidenced by the title of a Satire on Baxter, the Presbyterian, entitled: "The Saints' Liberty of Conscience in the new Kingdom of Poland. Proposed for the consolation of the Distressed Brethren."

During the following years we find no trace of collections having been made in England in aid of the Bohemian Brethren. Nevertheless we know that they had not been quite forgotten; for we find a new point of contact, resulting from Comenius's intercourse with this country. His grandsons, Johann Theodor and Daniel Ernst Jablonsky, sons of Petrus Figilus of Jablonska

were students at Oxford from 1680 to 1683. Daniel Ernst, who was afterwards Court Chaplain at Berlin, made acquaintances that were to prove of great importance, not only for the furtherance of unionist endeavours, but also for the subsequent founding of congregations of the Brethren in England. What is left of his correspondence shows that he was in touch with three men especially, viz.: Dr. Grabe, who had come to England and had become in pietistic circles an ardent upholder of the apostolical succession (44); William Nicholls, called in Lambeth M.S. 676, 1 part 2, "*Ecclesiae Anglicanae Presbyter*;" and a Mr. Gatford (45). In 1709 Jablonsky was elected corresponding secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It must have been at Oxford that he made the acquaintance of the three men, whom he esteemed above all others in England, viz.: Wake, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury; Compton, Bishop of London; and Potter, later Archbishop of Canterbury (46). As Court Chaplain he afterwards corresponded much with these three.

He was soon in a position to make use of these friendships in the service of the remnants of the Ancient Brethren's Unity, of which he was consecrated a Bishop in 1699. He also sent some of the persecuted young Brethren to English Universities (47). The persecutions were indeed severe. In 1706 Lissa was once more burned to the ground, and though it was partly re-built with the help of foreign Protestants, there was far from sufficient aid to supply the wants of the inhabitants. They made their distress known to their English friends in a tract entitled: "*A Short View of the Continual Sufferings and Heavy Oppressions of the Episcopal Reformed Churches, formerly in Bohemia, and now in Great Poland and Polish Russia.*" (British Museum). It is not known what their relations with their publishers, Newcomb & Hill, were, but their deputy, Christian Sutkowsky (Sitcovius) was certainly in England (48) in the year 1716. He gained the ear of Archbishop William Wake, who induced George I. to issue a Cabinet order permitting a collection in aid of the Protestants in Poland, and appointing

both Archbishops, five Bishops, and the Lord High Chancellor controllers of the same (49). Wake and Robinson, Bishop of London, issued an appeal (50) which was read in the churches of London (51) in November, 1716. What the result was, is not known, but it is certain that it did not meet with general support (52). Thomas Bennet, in a sermon advocating the collection, which is still extant (British Museum), says that he had reason to believe that the Brethren were foully traduced in England, many calling them Hussites, under the impression that that was a monstrous religion, while others accused them of having a spurious episcopal succession, their Bishops being indistinguishable from mere Presbyters (53). In "A Letter to the Bishop of Ely," a zealous High Churchman defends this prelate against the imputation of being a supporter of these Polish Episcopalians, who are described as impostors, because they claimed Wycliffe as their founder. Now Wycliffe, the letter states, had been an opponent of episcopacy, and was generally an arch-heretic. In addition to this, the Brethren had been the originators of disturbances, and even wars. It was therefore out of the question that the Bishop of Ely should have supported such people, &c., &c.

In order to counteract in the most authoritative quarters the effect of such false opinions, Jablonsky sent a circular letter to Archbishop Wake (M.S. in Herrnhut archives), in which he upheld the episcopal succession, and wrote to Zinzendorf at a later date, that the Archbishop had expressed himself fully satisfied therewith (Herrnhut archives).

But the situation of the Protestants in Poland was seemingly a hopeless one. In a short session in 1717, the Reichstag had interdicted their building churches and holding public worship. Nevertheless these renewed persecutions had one good effect, viz.: that the Protestants became re-united. On the 2nd September, 1718, they held for the first time after a long interval a General Synod at Danzig, and in the following years some smaller Synods. In the meantime, however, the atrocities of the Thorn massacre filled the world with horror of the policy

of the Jesuits. Foreign powers intervened in favour of the Dissidents, the English ambassador especially taking their part courageously—but only with words (54). When his threats, which were uttered in a speech delivered on the 7th February, 1725, were reported to the Polish Reichstag, great indignation was expressed at this interference of foreigners. The reply of the Reichstag was to forbid the Protestants, on pain of death, to call foreign powers to their aid (55). Now came Jablonsky's opportunity in Berlin to redouble his efforts on behalf of his little church; for the Reichstag's edict did not apply to him. And he did his part right nobly, as is testified by a letter that he wrote to Archbishop Wake (M.S. in the Rawlinson Collection of the Bodleian Library). In this letter he mentions how the Polish Protestants had been obliged to send their congratulations on the occasion of the coronation of George II. through him (Jablonsky) to the English ambassador at the Prussian Court, because they would have been accused of treachery, had they sent them direct to London. On that occasion he had requested the ambassador, De Bourgué, to instruct the ambassador he was sending to the Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, to watch over the interests of the Poles. He further begs Wake on his part to do his utmost on their behalf. He himself would arrange that two Polish representatives should be on the spot, ready to supply the English ambassador with all needful information. But it was all in vain. For, although England as well as other Protestant powers made many attempts to induce the King of Poland to be merciful to his dissident subjects, yet the persecutions went on with unabated rigour. The remnants of the Ancient Brethren's Unity dwindled away, and were finally swallowed up in the other Evangelical Confessions (56).

Thus the chapter of the intercourse between the Ancient Brethren's Church and English Protestants closes. —Though it had no lasting effect of any moment on either of the churches, yet it was not to be quite fruitless in after times. A church was founded at Herrnhut, near Dresden, at first, indeed, quite

independently of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum ; and it of its own initiative also entered upon new relations with England. After it had somewhat increased in numbers, and had, as the heir of the Ancient Unitas, received the latter's episcopate and church order, it was of importance that it could appeal to the ties that had existed between the Ancient Church and England. For a branch of the Renewed Church was established in England, which endeavoured to take up the heritage of its spiritual ancestor, viz. : the respect accorded to an allied Protestant Episcopal Church. Solely on the strength of such a heritage, the Renewed Church would indeed hardly have found a footing in England. But that its establishment there was favoured by the general ecclesiastical condition of the country, and the support of certain circles within the Anglican Church, will appear from the following chapter.

II.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND IN THE XVIII. CENTURY.

GENERAL ECCLESIASTICAL RELATIONS.

The general ecclesiastical condition which we find in England at the beginning of the XVIII. century had been developed on the basis of the Restoration in 1662. It was then that the episcopal church was by law established as the State Church, and the Roman Catholic Church, as well as the Presbyterians and Independents, were suppressed. This change was to a great extent brought about from political rather than religious considerations. The Anglican Church suffered on that account from the very beginning from a lack of religious life. Another defect of the Restoration was that it failed to bring about the desired pacification. True, the other churches were suppressed, but they were not destroyed. The Presbyterians and Independents were as little willing to identify themselves with the dominant Episcopal Church, as the Quakers were to join the

Independents. The Act of Uniformity had indeed created a rich and powerful church under the aegis of the State, but the Book of Common Prayer could not abolish Dissent. One chief object was not attained—Union. And yet it was just this that the whole Protestant Church had been striving after since the Thirty Years' War. This desire had found expression in the English Church itself since the middle of the XVII. century in Latitudinarianism, which found a dangerous ally in Deism, the dominant philosophy of the day, that was desirous of carrying out the levelling-down process to a greater extent than met with the approval of the Church.

It was therefore an unsound foundation upon which the ecclesiastical structure of England was to be built, and a glance at the condition of the English Church of that day shows that a safe superstructure upon such a foundation was an impossibility. In all the contemporary writings we find repeated complaints about the state of the Church. Rich livings offered a pleasant life to men of the world who were not anxious to rise above the rather low moral level of their flocks. On the other hand, country livings were so poor that the scarcity of applicants for them became a serious matter. Of genuine cure of souls there was consequently none. No doubt there was not an utter absence of thoughtful and energetic men amongst the clergy; for even at the beginning of the XVIII. century there were such prominent men among them as Sherlock. But at a time when the Church had on the one hand to guard against the insidious inroads of Roman Catholicism, and on the other only very gradually assumed a more tolerant bearing towards Protestant Dissent, there was but one outlet for spiritual activity, and that was the defence of the orthodox creed. This those few thoughtful men engaged in with much literary skill, and a firm conviction of the correctness and reasonableness of their Church's conception of Christianity, fighting manfully against the doubts of Deism. With the same intention to preserve their ecclesiasticism, other less prominent spirits harked back to Roman Catholic views of the priesthood. How-

ever well-meant both these attempts were, we cannot expect their success to have been great. The defenders of orthodoxy began to quarrel with one another, and the High Church tendencies of the others met with opposition from the parishioners, who were now becoming more and more imbued with the spirit of religious liberty. The signing of the XXXIX Articles, which was required on all manner of occasions, grew under such circumstances to be a mere formality without any value as an expression of belief.

Consequently there was amongst all classes of the community an utter indifference to the Church and religion generally, going to some extent hand in hand with shocking moral depravity. Even many of those who professed Christianity contented themselves with merely formal and lifeless ecclesiasticism, which naturally did not inspire them with the courage and power necessary to successfully combat the prevailing immorality. There were complaints heard that even church-goers only too seldom held aloof from flagrant sins.

Nor was the state of things much better among the Dissenters, though we must admit that there was more of religious life. But even among them the demoralising effect of Deism made itself felt. Nor should it be forgotten that these new churches had not had time to develop their religious characteristics or their forms; still less had they been able to systematically educate the whole body of their adherents. For it was only after the Act of Toleration in 1689 that they were permitted to develop themselves, and even this newly gained boon was in the first half of the XVIII. century much discounted by legal restrictions. Thus both the internal and external development of a Free Church was rendered extremely difficult,—a difficulty that made itself felt in the history of the Brethren's Church also. For when the latter, after the year 1740, endeavoured to conform to the laws regulating churches, it found, generally speaking, the state of things to be as follows:—

Ecclesiastical regulations were still based on the Corporation Act of 1661, the Act of Uniformity of 1662, and the Test Act

of 1673. Not one of these Acts had been totally abrogated, but each had been considerably modified by the rescinding of some clauses, and the expansion of others. The Episcopal Church as by law established was thereby given the dominant position. The whole country was divided into dioceses, the Bishops having seat and vote in the Upper House. The clergy were subject to the Bishops, and every clergyman had to receive ordination at the hands of the Bishop. Yet the ordinary clergy had to sign not only the XXXIX Articles, but also a solemn Declaration that they considered themselves bound by the doctrines and rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, and that they condemned as disloyalty to the King and connection with the Solemn League and Covenant.

The Dissenting Churches occupied the position of tolerated sects, which enjoyed only so much freedom as appeared compatible with the interests of the State. Hence their members had to sign the XXXIX Articles, to pay parochial dues, just as if they had been members of the Established Church. The Dissenters were indeed allowed to have their own Public Worship, but this had to be conducted with closed doors. Their meeting-houses, like the churches of the Establishment, had to be made known to the Bishop or his representative, and to a Justice of the Peace, and to be registered by the latter, who supplied a certificate on payment of a fee of sixpence. This secured to the Dissenters the protection of the law against disturbance. Nor were Dissenters debarred from filling civil offices, but they were required to take two oaths and sign a Declaration as well as the XXXIX Articles, with the exception of Articles XXXIV to XXXVI, and a portion of XX. The oaths were,—the Oath of Allegiance, and an Oath of Supremacy, which was of a purely negative character, simply denying the right of the Pope to dethrone Kings, and abjuring the claims of the Pretender. The Declaration was to the effect that they held to be errors, the doctrine of Transubstantiation, Mariolatry, the Mass, as well as the belief that any man had

the power to absolve from the sin of perjury; and that they harboured no mental reservation. Anyone who attended a religious service might be called upon to sign the Declaration and take the oaths. This law was never actually abrogated, but that it was not generally enforced is proved by the issuing of a later order, expressly enjoining that attorneys must take the oaths. But at any rate every one who occupied a public post, whether political, social, or religious, was required to do so within six months of his installation. Every official of municipal corporations had to obtain a certificate from a clergyman or other church official, that he had communicated within twelve months previous to his taking office, while candidates for royal or government offices were required to take the communion within six months next following their appointment. Members of Parliament were required to sign and read aloud the Declaration. The oaths were administered by Justices of the Peace, or Sheriffs, or their subordinates, who registered the name of the individual and gave him a certificate on payment of a fee of 12 pence. The Baptists enjoyed a dispensation so far as regarded Article XXVII (Baptism) and Quakers were permitted to give in a written Affirmation in place of taking the oath. People who had scruples were allowed to take the oath by deputy. But Papists did not enjoy any of these privileges; yet they had permission to conduct their public worship. Their signatures to documents were valid.

In 1718 for the first time, and after 1728 more or less regularly, an annual amnesty was granted to such as had not taken the oaths nor signed the Declaration; and, provided always that their posts had not been otherwise legally filled, such people were allowed to resume their functions.

The adherents of foreign Protestant churches enjoyed full ecclesiastical liberty, with their own forms of worship, sacraments, and other services in their own churches, having their own ministers, and being exempted from the payment of parochial dues. Yet all this was merely on sufferance.

At a time when German Electors sat on the throne of England, there was naturally a particularly large German colony in the country,—towards the middle of the XVIII. century there were from 4,000 to 5,000 Germans living in London alone. For these there were three German congregations, the Lutherans worshipping in the Savoy, where also the Reformed Church worshipped, and the Lutheran Court Chapel at St. James's. The minister of the last-named Church was Dr. Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, friend and mission agent of A. H. Franke's. He deserves to be remembered in the history of foreign missions on account of his work on behalf of the Lutheran Missions in the East Indies. He also possessed great influence at the English Court.

The growing spirit of toleration of the first 35 years of the XVIII. century favoured the development of a religious awakening that there was among the people; for in the following 35 years we witness a grand revival of religion, under the influence of the Methodists and Moravians. But even before this, towards the close of the XVII. century, two great revival forces had manifested themselves, viz.: the Religious Societies, and the writings of William Law.

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

Dr. Smithies, curate of St. Giles, Cripplegate, and Dr. Horneck, from the Lower Palatinate, especially the latter, were the originators of the Religious Societies. Horneck made a deep impression by his faithful pastoral work, and attracted large congregations by his preaching, which dealt chiefly with the love of God manifested in the Incarnation, and with the duty of love to Christ. He was practically the first German Pietist who laboured in England. About the year 1660 some young people who had been awakened by his and Smithies's preaching, sought spiritual counsel of their ministers, and were by them made acquainted with one another, and advised to meet every week for mutual edification. Soon they began to seek souls, and to minister to the wants of the poor and prisoners

for debt, to release whom they collected money. At one of their meetings they agreed that each should gain another member for their weekly meetings. Thus the Society grew, and soon felt the want of some organisation, in the first instance for the administration of their charitable fund. Two Stewards were, it seems, appointed in 1678. Other societies on the same pattern and with the same objects were soon founded, and went by the name of Religious, or Vestry Societies, because their meetings were generally held in the vestry of the church. Their close connection with the Established Church and at the same time their Evangelical tendency are their marked characteristics. Founded as they were during a period of pronounced intolerance on the part of the zealous members of the Episcopal Church, they elected a clergyman as their leader, and undertook nothing without acquainting him or even the Bishop of London therewith and asking for advice. Collects from the Book of Common Prayer were exclusively used in their meetings, while the members pledged themselves to attend the services of the church, and to communicate every month. The Romanising tendency of James II. opened to them a new sphere of activity. For when the Mass was introduced into the Chapel Royal, they, at their own charges, made, in protest, arrangements for evening prayer and a monthly evening sermon in St. Clement Danes, not far from the Royal palace. True, they had to keep their names secret, and were even compelled, by the animosity of the Roman Catholic party, to nominally dissolve their Society; yet they virtually maintained its existence under the name of "club," holding their meeting in back-rooms of hotels (1).

Horneck's Society had many and minute rules of conduct (2). There are said to have been about 42 such societies in London (3) in 1701, but only from 30 to 40 about the year 1732. They declined also gradually in spirituality (4). Nevertheless these Societies are of the greatest interest in connection with our subject, in as far as they are the soil in which the Moravian Brethren sowed their seed of new life. That they had begun to dwindle before the Moravians appeared on the scene is of

little importance, and easily explained. For at the beginning of the XVIII. century there had been a division of labour amongst the Societies; the Vestry Societies being intrusted with the work of edification. The members had not, however, received the necessary training for such work, the rules being of a fundamentally German pietistic character, which suited the practical English mind only in so far as it led to palpable results. But the work of religious and ethical reformation was by the division of labour taken away from them, whereas in James II.'s reign it had formed the main part of their activity. Now it was greatly developed on the impulse given by five young men, members of the Church, and some of them law students, who banded themselves to do battle with public immorality (5). Favoured by Queen Mary, they formed "Societies for the Giving of Information," still on a religious and ecclesiastical basis, and working side by side with the other societies. But as they in time developed into Societies for the Reformation of Manners, with the view of checking immorality by appeals to the law, they gradually forsook their ecclesiastical and religious basis, and separated themselves entirely from the Vestry Societies. In 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge took up both kinds of work on a broader ecclesiastical basis (6). Its aim was to open schools for the poor throughout the whole of the country, in which reading, writing, and the Church Catechism were to be taught. It also endeavoured to found libraries at home and in the Colonies, and had good books translated into English and other languages. At the instance of Dr. Bray, the S.P.C.K. soon shot out another branch, the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which received a Charter from William III. incorporating all its members residing in London with both Archbishops and other church dignitaries for work in the colonies. The S.P.C.K. remained a private Society for the benefit of the home land.

If the strictly Religious Societies were able to maintain their existence apart from these new developments, it was partly

because membership in them was considered "good form" (7), but partly also because there was a craving among the people for better spiritual food. In the last instance their survival may be credited to a man, whose writings have been already mentioned as forming a second outstanding feature in the religious life of England at the close of the XVII. and beginning of the XVIII. century,—

WILLIAM LAW.

William Law, who has been called the father of the religious revival of the XVIII. century, and the grandfather of Methodism—both which names he fully deserves—was a priest of the Episcopal Church, and a valiant champion of its interests. He attacked the Latitudinarianism of the Bishop of Bangor. He refused, as a thorough Jacobite, to take the Oath of Allegiance to George I., and was therefore deprived of his London living.

Earnest and energetic, he recognised that a Christianity that finds expression in formal ecclesiasticism without influencing the conduct of men, cannot be whole and sound. In 1726 he wrote his "Treatise on Christian Perfection," following it with his more comprehensive and weighty "Serious Call," which may be regarded as the book of the revival period. In it he addresses the laity alone, endeavouring to persuade them that it is the duty of a Christian to bring his whole life into subjection to God's will, as thus alone true happiness is to be gained. He tries by calm statement and convincing argument to force his readers to acknowledge this. And, indeed, he who admits his premisses is bound to agree with the conclusions he arrives at. The whole book is characterised by fresh, powerful thinking, combined with clear insight and an unsparing criticism that is not wanting in sarcastic humour. His argument is brightened by the introduction of imaginary characters which will ensure the book a place in English literature. Such a book at such a time could not fail to produce a deep impression, and the majority of those who were men of leading in the Revival admit that the first or decisive impulse to alter their lives was

given by this book. Hence it may be well to look into its chief contents, in order to know the religious views with which the Moravians were brought face to face when they came to England.

Chapters I—XIII. Complete surrender of our life to God. Church-going and devotions not sufficient. Pardon of sin involves striving after holiness—practically the monastic idea of perfection. Denial of things non-essential. Different positions in life demand their special virtues developing. Necessity of smaller societies to further chastity, voluntary poverty, retirement, devotion, and self-denial. All this to tend to doing good to our neighbour. Our everyday actions to be subject to the great principle of obedience to God's will. Strength thereto is given by God, but must also be cultivated.

Therefore Chapters XIV to XXIV recommend, as means to the attainment of all these virtues, early rising and frequent prayer (every 3 hours) for definite objects. Humility important.

It is, however, interesting to notice that the words "sin" and "redemption" are seldom, if ever, used in the "Serious Call." The reason of this lies not so much in the fact that such subjects are not within the scope of the book, as that they are nearly wanting in Law's conception of Christianity. Of his later mysticism there is no trace in this book, the rationalistic argumentation of which is indeed as little related to Mysticism as its advocacy of good works is to Quietism. Yet there are certain points of contact with Mysticism, and it is interesting to observe that Law could not rest satisfied with a legal Christianity, were it never so serious and profound, but was eventually attracted to Mysticism without, on that account, giving up his earlier ideas. In his own country house, King's Cliff, he minutely carried out the injunctions of the "Serious Call" up to the time of his death.

The "Serious Call" found a response in the hearts of many, who were awakened by it to a realisation of their Christian duties, and the Revival of the XVIII. century is to a great extent the result of the impetus thus given.

One of the earlier leaders of this Revival, who confessed he had been stimulated into activity by Law, was John Wesley. His religious development and his temporary union with the Moravians, of which we shall have to speak, prove that it was not merely accidental that Law in his later years turned to Mysticism. It was rather the natural rebound from the cold legalism of his teaching in his "Christian Perfection" and "Serious Call."

WESLEY AND HUTTON.

John Wesley's is a personality of twofold interest. In the first place, his work and individuality remind us of much that we find in Zinzendorf, and this had a considerable bearing on the intercourse between him and the Brethren's Church. Secondly, he is distinguished as the leader of young people like-minded with himself—the Methodists. It is true that it was not he who founded this Society, but his younger brother, Charles, who, after wasting some terms at Christ College, Oxford, determined in 1728 or 1729, with some two or three friends, to comply with the rules of the College, to go to Communion every week, and to be diligent in their studies. Hence the name of Methodists was applied to them by their fellow students, in allusion to a class of medical men in Nero's time. Nor was the name new to England; for in a sermon preached in 1639, mention is made of "Methodists," and in 1693 a pamphlet was published, entitled: "A War among the Angels of the Churches; wherein is showed the Principles of the new Methodists in the Great Point of Justification." (Tyerman I., 67). Now when John Wesley returned to Oxford after having laboured for some time in parish work, he joined this Society, and at once began to impress his own individuality upon it.

The determined energy of Charles Wesley while forming the society was also the leading feature of John's character, who was, however, not naturally so graceful and artistic as his younger brother. The stern self-control, the strict veracity, and uniform kindliness, which their wise mother had early inculcated (8), had all assumed a rather unbending character

in the self-absorbed boy, John. He showed early signs of religious earnestness, which was further fostered by the strict religious atmosphere of Epworth vicarage, and was especially intensified by an experience which naturally seemed to him to be providential. When, namely, he was about 16 years of age, the vicarage was one night destroyed by fire, and he himself was with difficulty saved, after all hopes of rescuing him had been given up. His father, the rector, admitted him to the Communion at the early age of 8 years, and this had also ripened his religious feelings. But on the other hand, his early exemplary conduct and precocious views of life caused him to lack the impetuosity that brings a boy face to face with human frailty, and leads to the first conflict between pleasure and duty. He thought in later years that he had retained the grace of baptism unimpaired until about his 10th year. In short, he never properly realised what sin is (9).

A hard time followed for him when he entered the Charterhouse. But the rough treatment he suffered at the hands of his school companions developed in him abstemiousness, patience, and perseverance, which virtues enabled him in after life to accomplish his work in the face of the greatest obstacles. Endowed with good talents, he made rapid progress at school and college, taking a fellowship in Lincoln College, Oxford, at the early age of 23 years. The necessary condition that he should take orders was bound to have an abiding effect on the life of a man of his determined and truth-loving character. While at school and college his religion had not been of a vital nature. He had been content with the merely outward observance of habits acquired in childhood—prayer, Bible-reading, and church-going. Now he became aware that such an imperfect Christianity could not fit him for a clergyman's work. He therefore determined, with the view of preparing himself for the ministry and helping others on the way of holiness, to be a Christian out and out—in thought, word and action. In order to keep a check on himself in this process of self-reformation, he began to keep a diary, in which resolution he admits he was

greatly strengthened by the writings of three men particularly— Thomas à Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, and, not least, William Law. But with all his zeal in striving after holiness, his Christianity consisted in little more than an almost painfully conscientious utilisation of his time and talents, together with a strict observance of the injunctions of the Book of Common Prayer, and the holding of the mirror of truth up to himself and others. The doctrines of repentance and election by grace were bound to repel a man who had apparently achieved everything, including the Christian life, by his unaided efforts. He could not bring himself to believe that it was not possible for one who was in earnest to work out his salvation. It is true that by dint of thorough self-examination he had attained to a certain kind of perfection ; but it was of an artificial sort. His love of self, which was pronounced, contrasted disagreeably with the halo of holiness he wore. An instance of this is his turning a deaf ear to the entreaties of his aged father, that he should succeed him in the living, in order to provide for his mother and sisters. He refused because, as he said, he could better further his own sanctification at Oxford. Nevertheless, he did apply for the living, but came too late. Further, when he left Oxford to go at the request of General Oglethorpe as a missionary to America, his motive was not so much the unselfish desire to save souls, as the hope that thereby he might save his own soul, as he thought he could best learn the true meaning of Christ's gospel by preaching it to the heathen, who had no means of explaining away the meaning of the Word, nor any vain reason to spoil it withal (10). Under these circumstances it is no wonder that his detractors felt justified in asserting that self-seeking was at the bottom of his sanctimoniousness, and in accusing him of pride, conceit, and ambition in his attempt to be the leader of others, while he was so wanting in true fitness for the task. Lecky's judgment of Wesley seems to be in the main fair (11), when he says " He was a man who had made religion the single aim and object of his life ; who was prepared to encounter for it every form of danger, discomfort, and

obloquy ; who devoted exclusively to it an energy of will and a power of intellect that in worldly professions might have raised him to the highest positions of honour and wealth. Of his sincerity, of his self-renunciation, of his deep and fervent piety, there can be no question. Yet with all these qualities, he was not an amiable man. He was hard, punctilious, domineering, and, in a certain sense, even selfish."

John Wesley's earnestness and devotion to duty exactly suited the ardent young Methodists ; his fiery spirit stirred them mightily ; his stern energy acted on them as a spur. Works of piety and the striving after personal holiness took more and more possession of them, while they still endeavoured to carry out their principles in close connection with the English Church, as the Vestry Societies had done. One of their number began to pay regular visits to the prisoners in the old castle at Oxford. Another, Clayton, introduced systematic fasting. At first John Wesley hesitated to sanction such innovations, but after consulting his father and the Bishop of Oxford, he countenanced them and began to systematise them. The Oxford friends gave their attention to the education of poor people and the support of needy families. The necessary funds were partly collected from others, but to a great extent they saved the money out of their own incomes by extreme self-denial. They had a set of searching questions which they put to themselves daily with a view to progress in sanctification. It did not strike them that this was not the way to attain to the simplicity they sought. Their sense of duty urged them to influence their comrades by precept and example. Nor did they let themselves be terrified by the hostility they encountered. They replied by publishing a number of questions addressed to their opponents, with a view to convincing them of the correctness of the aims of the Methodists. This was the first promulgation of their views (12).

The peculiar tenets of the Methodists are so much a reflection of John Wesley's character, that we may conclude that he had much to do with their origin. It is certain that it was he who

led and organised the Society. His unfailing friendliness, sound judgment, and energy dominated the minds of a large proportion of his followers. The most striking proof of this is the fact that once during his absence, the Oxford Society sank from 27 to 5 members.

Before Wesley left for mission work in Georgia in 1735, another society had come under his influence, which was eventually to form the connecting link between him and the Moravian Brethren.

One of the Religious Societies that had a bare existence about the year 1730, used to meet regularly at the house of the Rev. John Hutton, College Street, Westminster. This clergyman had been deprived of his living because he had refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to the House of Hanover, and he was now earning a living by taking in pupils. His wife, whose maiden name was Ayscough, was a descendant of the great Newton (13). Their son, James, attended Westminster School, and at home was kept well to his tasks, and brought up in a pious way. As might be expected in a non-juror's family, this piety was of the high-church type. It had no deeper effect on James than to make him grow up a decent and well-behaved young man. Benham describes him as being full of youthful vigour, of an open character, and cheerful disposition. After a fairly good education, he was apprenticed to Innys, the bookseller.

James Hutton heard of the Oxford Methodists(14) for the first time in 1729, and while on a visit to some school friends there, he happened to make the acquaintance of Charles Wesley, who introduced him to his brother, John. In the hope of forming a business connection, Hutton asked the Wesleys, when next they should be in London, to stay at his father's house. John Wesley seems to have availed himself of this invitation for the first time, when he was on his way to Georgia. On this occasion he preached to the society in Hutton's house, and by his pious demeanour gained an influence over James and his sister.

Young Hutton wanted to accompany Wesley as a missionary, but he was still bound by the terms of his apprenticeship.

He went with the Wesleys, Ch. Delamotte, and Benj. Ingham to Gravesend, where they had to wait some days before the ship was ready to sail. During this time the friends had many conversations on religious subjects, sometimes on board, sometimes ashore. It was on one of the former occasions that they made their first acquaintance with Moravian Brethren; for the Moravian Bishop, David Nitschmann, with other 20 of the Brethren, was going by the same vessel to Georgia. The Englishmen were deeply impressed with the stamp of primitive apostolical Christianity the Moravians bore, although their inability to speak each other's language made conversation impossible.

Henceforth the intercourse between the Oxford Methodists and the circle of serious persons who met at Hutton's shop was very frequent (15). John Wesley sent his journal to Hutton, and Charles wrote frequently to him. Both journal and letters were read at the Society's meetings. This Society, which was composed of members of various other societies, gradually took up the relief of the poor, deriving the necessary funds from collections in the other societies. Hutton became the London business agent for the Oxford Methodists, to whom he had been introduced by the Wesleys. He introduced them to people, through whom they were admitted to London pulpits. It was thus that the London Societies were brought under the influence of the Methodists.

The Moravian Brethren, who first came into contact with the Methodists and the London Societies, thus became acquainted with Wesley's method of seeking salvation in a conscientious but cold legality. The eudaemonistic ethicism of Wesley and his friends, aiming as it did at the attainment of happiness as the chief thing, was but the logical development of Law's insistence on sanctification. This was clear, and suited the practical English mind, and was therefore pretty sure of finding acceptance, especially when taught by popular and

energetic men such as the Wesleys were. But the deeper feelings were left untouched, while those who were not so superficial as to be deceived about their sinfulness, nor quite so strong minded as Wesley, remained unsatisfied. It was for this reason that both Law in his last years embraced Mysticism, and also Wesley, for a time, and some of his followers and friends permanently, attached themselves to the Moravian Brethren. For Methodists and Moravians had many points in common outwardly. Both had the desire for closer fellowship amongst their members, missionary zeal, devoted veneration of their respective leaders, Wesley and Zinzendorf, and other non-essential features. But the Christianity of the Moravians differed as widely from that of the Methodists, as did Zinzendorf's character from Wesley's. Our next chapter will therefore make it plain that the Moravians, while having many points of similarity with the Methodists, had fundamentally an individuality of their own.

III.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE RENEWED CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN IN ENGLAND.

ZINZENDORF AND THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH UNTIL THE YEAR 1738.

If Methodism bears the impress of Wesley's character in general, it is no less true that Moravianism was influenced by Zinzendorf's personality; only in the latter case we find an important modifying factor in the traditions handed down from the Ancient Church of the Brethren.

The Renewed Church of the Brethren originated in a colony of emigrants from Moravia, who had left hearth and home for the Gospel's sake, and had found a refuge on Zinzendorf's estate at Berthelsdorf, in Upper Silesia. Their patron, Zinzendorf, had always had the wish to become a minister of the Gospel,

but had been forced by family considerations to accept a government appointment in Dresden. Even in this position he did his utmost to work for the kingdom of God. At Berthelsdorf he had appointed a man as parish minister, whose views he knew to be identical with his own. This was Pastor Rothe. The Moravian immigrants were kindly treated, and Zinzendorf ultimately resigned his government office, in order to devote himself wholly to the nurture of the colony at Herrnhut. His personal influence was indeed required there; for the heterogeneous elements constituting this colony threatened disruption. The cure of souls, that his office of mediator involved, was work such as he had ever desired to engage in.

Count Nikolas Ludwig von Zinzendorf had been brought up under pietistic influences. His grandmother Katharina von Gersdorf, in whose castle at Gross Henndorf he lived from his fourth to his tenth year, occupied as a learned and intelligent woman among the Saxon pietists a position similar to that of Maria Schurmann among the pietists of the Lower Rhine (1). Spener, who was a frequent visitor at her house, watched with kindly interest the development of the young count. When Spangenberg, in his "Life of Zinzendorf," says that Spener stood as sponsor at Zinzendorf's baptism, he must have supposed that such was the case from a remark made by Zinzendorf in later years, to the effect that Spener had laid his hand on his head in blessing. But neither in the Baptismal Register of the Kreuz Kirche in Dresden, nor in the certificate of Zinzendorf's baptism, is Spener mentioned as one of the sponsors. From his tenth to his sixteenth year, Zinzendorf was at A.H. Franke's institution at Halle, where he came under the influence of that good man, being a frequent guest at his table. Then, at the wish of his guardian, he entered the University of Wittenberg, which was hostile to the pietistic movement. Instead, however, of abandoning his Halle connections, he began to use his new position to bring about a reconciliation between the Universities of Halle and Wittenberg, and only desisted from his plan, because his mother forbade him to pursue it. In addition to his

study of the law at Wittenberg, he devoted much attention to the work of evangelisation and the study of theology. And when he had to accept the government appointment in Dresden, he held public religious meetings in his house, with the view of carrying out Spener's idea of the "ecclesiola in ecclesia." With this ideal in view, he bought the manor of Berthelsdorf, where he settled in 1727 in order to undertake the spiritual charge of the Bohemian emigrants at Herrnhut.

His zeal in the cause of "winning souls for Christ" reminds us of Wesley, while his natural gifts were in no way inferior. His ready grasp of everything connected with what he undertook was equalled by the facility with which he expressed his thoughts. But in other respects he differed widely from Wesley. There seem to have been three determining factors in his development, viz., his mental endowments, his social position, and the early education he received from his grandmother and aunt. Prominent in his character is the combination of strenuous activity with great receptivity. His temper was hot, but he was soon pacified. He could dispatch business of the most varied nature in quick succession, and keep his manifold undertakings separate in his mind. From a child he had been proud of his rank, which counted for more in the XVIII. century than it does now-a-days. But his youthful faults of obstinacy, high and critical airs, pride of rank, and vanity (2) were corners of his character that were subsequently smoothed down, though not altogether removed, by the hand of time. Even with his friends he still maintained a certain aloofness of bearing. Towards the members of the Herrnhut congregation he behaved as their gracious prince, at the same time regarding them as "brethren." His whole demeanour was so imposing that when he was walking through strange towns, in deep thought, people respectfully made way for him (3). The evident drawback in this was that "the voice of friendly advice seldom reached his ears" (4). The vanity of the youth developed in the man into a touchiness (5) which would brook no opposition. He had acquired learning with such ease that he lacked the

robustness of mind acquired by self-discipline. He had never been trained to exercise will-power over his inclinations (6). In consequence his character shews a certain want of manliness, and a tendency to absurdities and even insincerity. Not that he consciously told an untruth, but, never having learned to keep a firm control over his thoughts, memory, and imagination, it would happen—especially if diplomacy was required—that his representation of a fact did not tally with the reality. His enemies, therefore, agreed in accusing him of untruthfulness, and even his admirer, Schrautenbach, has to admit that there were traces of “profound dissimulation” in his character (7). But it is only fair to state that his opponents sometimes called it downright insincerity, when in confusion of mind he did not recognise what was his course to a goal he had in view, and regarded a question from an out-of-the-way point of view, which was often in the highest degree full of originality and genius. It may be also attributed to his lack of mental self-control, that he would sometimes again take up a course of thinking, the impracticability and erroneousness of which had been previously brought home to his mind. In this he differed from Wesley. Wesley possessed an admirable energy that was transparent, straight and bold in its working. Zinzendorf was led by a semi-conscious obstinacy. His want of concentration and self-control is noticeable in some of his enterprises as the leader of the Brethren’s Church, which resulted in a great waste of energy and money.

This blur on Zinzendorf’s character is to be deplored, and it seems strange that a man so wanting in human greatness should have been able to accomplish what he did. But the explanation of this lies in the fact that his Christianity fully sufficed to accomplish what other great men have done by dint of energy and circumspection. From childhood his whole nature had been permeated by a well-nigh fanatical loving devotion to the person of Jesus, which supplied him with a mainspring of thought and action which he would else have lacked. In childhood’s games he had spoken to Jesus as to a brother, had even

written letters to Him. As a boy he formed unions and orders among his fellows, with the object of spreading Christ's kingdom. As a young man on travels and as a man in Dresden and Berthelsdorf, he sought to "win souls for Christ." His religion was deeply rooted in his temperament, which, being pre-eminently of the sentimental type, had subsequently to be stiffened by reason. It ennobled his character, gave definiteness to his unmethodical energy, and transfigured it with self-sacrificing zeal; it gradually softened and nearly extirpated his aristocratic arrogance, and soothed his natural irritability (8). Yet we cannot expect to find him, after all this, a perfect saint.

It is thus evident that the difference between Wesley and Zinzendorf was a fundamental one. Wesley's greatness was acquired by strenuous endeavour, Zinzendorf's was innate. The latter was a religious genius, the former a man who had formed a religious character for himself. The Anglican priest's nature was of an ethical cast, the Saxon Count's was mystico-religious. Wesley's religion was the result of logical conclusions and magnificent force of will; Zinzendorf, on the other hand, believed the truth firmly because he had felt it intensely. Wesley worked from below upwards, with the motto "The more good we do, the happier shall we be hereafter." Zinzendorf began at the top, his heart vibrating with the words "This I did for Thee, what dost thou do for Me?" At one point the two men met, namely, in the performance of duty to God and man, the one doing it because he felt it was right, the other because he felt it to be impossible to do otherwise.

Zinzendorf succeeded in imbuing the Herrnhut colonists with something of his ardent love to Jesus, and the impulse to evidence it. He covenanted with them to lead the Christian life in every respect. It was in this way that there arose in Herrnhut a community of zealous people, whose life was divided between earning the daily bread, mutual edification, and private prayer. Zinzendorf's persuasiveness and zeal gave the tone to their religious services, because they awakened an echo in the hearts of many of the assembled Moravian emigrants and Ger-

man pietists. The religious life thus produced in Herrnhut under Zinzendorf's influence had for its central point, love to the Saviour. The apostolic description of the Church as the Bride of Christ, Who had bought her, was minutely elaborated, the Five Wounds being raised into undue prominence and even, for a time, made the object of a childish veneration. But it was the gospel truth in its purity that was the main factor in the development of the Christian life of the Brethren at Herrnhut. Soon also some rigorous rules of conduct, of a pietistic nature, were generally adopted. Nevertheless Luther's motto "By faith alone," was the foundation of the Herrnhut colonists, and in a special manner, that of Zinzendorf. Yet their idea of what faith is, differed widely from Wesley's conception of it. Instead of being a grateful, loving confidence in God as Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer, faith with them meant grateful, intimate love to God in the person of Jesus Christ.

Admission to Herrnhut was granted to all, no matter from what church they came, who hoped to be saved through Jesus' meritorious sufferings and death, and were willing to obey the rules of the settlement. Truly a Philadelphian idea! At the same time Zinzendorf was too full of aristocratic conservatism to demand of those who came that they should sever their connection with their former communions. Considering himself still a loyal son of the Lutheran Church, he also wished even Separatists who joined him to be gradually led back to their original denominations. He, in fact, wished the Herrnhut community to be a practical example of Spener's "*ecclesiola in ecclesia*," the *ecclesia* being the national church of Saxony as represented by the Berthelsdorf parish. And at first he carried his point, for he persuaded the members of the Herrnhut community, which originally consisted mainly of Moravian emigrants, to attend the services and sacraments of the Berthelsdorf Church. In return he had, however, to concede to them liberty to adopt the church discipline of the Ancient Moravian Church.

About the year 1739, when the Moravians came into closer

contact with England, the internal arrangements of a congregation were, generally speaking, as follows:—At the head stood an Elder, whose duty it was to watch over the spiritual welfare of every member (9), the Elder of Herrnhut being at the same time General Elder of all other Moravian congregations. In 1741, however, Jesus Christ was declared by a Synod to be their General Elder, after He had been asked by the "Lot" to give His sanction thereto (10). They wished thereby to indicate the close relations existing between Him personally and themselves as a Church. The Elders had the assistance of volunteer "Helpers" for general and special matters (11). For each of the 24 hours of the day at least one "hourly intercessor" was appointed to keep the sacred flame of prayer burning (12). At first any brother could be authorised by the congregation to preach, whether he had studied or been ordained or not. But after one of the Brethren had been consecrated a Bishop by Jablonsky, the Bishop of the Polish branch of the Ancient Moravian Church, ordination became the rule. A Bishop had a purely spiritual office, with power to ordain, but ruling over no diocese. In addition to these ecclesiastical offices there were other more or less secular posts, which, as might be expected in a community permeated by Christian love, bore a religious character of their own. At first Zinzendorf combined the post of government inspector with the superintendence of the outward affairs of the congregations. He was lord of the manor. He held frequent conferences with the Elders and their ministerial assistants, who were called the "labourers." On these occasions not only external matters were discussed, but reports were read on the spiritual state of the congregations, and individual cases of difficulty were decided. Even in Zinzendorf's absence, such conferences were held. A Board of Arbitrators (13) under the presidency of the "Congregation Arbitrator," who was usually a lawyer, decided disputes between Brother and Brother, and so prevented the scandal of their going to law with one another. "Overseers" were appointed to report to the proper Elders or Superintend-

ents any breach of civil or fraternal order, in order that the offending parties might be exhorted or reprimanded. For the decision of all important matters there was the General Council (14), consisting of all the adult male communicants. This Council met, after the year 1729, once a week; nor did it hesitate to express its opinion on the action of the Elders, or even of Zinzendorf himself. Almoners, sick nurses, and "servants" were appointed,—the last named to look after the sanitation and order of the village, and to prepare the church for the various services.

Candidates for admission had to give a satisfactory assurance that they trusted for salvation in Jesus Christ alone, and were required to pledge themselves to obedience to the rules of the community. The ceremony of admission took the form of a confirmation, similar questions being put to the candidates (15). After this service those admitted partook with the congregation of the Lord's Supper, which, after 1731, was celebrated once a month. This Sacrament was regarded as a feast of union among those who felt themselves to be of one mind concerning their redemption by Christ, and were ready to fashion their lives as soldiers of the Cross. In order to keep alive the feeling of individual responsibility, every member was expected to attend the so-called "speaking" before each celebration of the Lord's Supper. At this private conversation with the Elder or minister, a member might, under certain circumstances, be advised, or more stringently admonished, not to partake at the next celebration (16). In order to promote Christian fellowship, a Lovefeast (*ἀγάπη*) and the Foot Washing frequently immediately preceded the Lord's Supper. After the celebration, which at first took place in the Berthelsdorf Church, the members of the community met in their own Hall to give one another the Kiss of Peace (17). Services were held in the Hall on every day of the week, as well as on Sundays, sometimes separately for groups differing as to age, condition of life, or sex, sometimes for the whole congregation. Every month there was a special day of prayer and praise—called the "Congrega-

tion Day"—on which reports were read from Brethren working in many places abroad. On such days services and meetings were held nearly continuously from 8 o'clock in the morning until late in the evening.

The members addressed and spoke of one another as "Brother" and "Sister," and used the German equivalent of the "Thou" of the Friends, an exception, however, being made in the case of Zinzendorf. As the sexes were on principle kept strictly apart from each other, even in the services, the whole community began to be divided up into "Choirs" (18), thus:—the Married Choir, and the choirs of Virgins (later Single Sisters), Single Men, Widowers, and Children. Each "choir" consisted of "Bands" of from 5 to 7 persons each, who met every week under the presidency of a Helper, to exchange their religious experiences with a view to mutual edification (19). A leader was appointed for each "choir" from amongst its members. The general meetings of all the "choirs" were not intended for interchange of thought, but for receiving instruction.

Zinzendorf's idea was that in such an organisation unity of spirit should be the sole bond of union. The introduction of the "Brotherly Agreement," which candidates for admission were required to sign, was merely intended to keep away or remove insincere persons, and not as being necessary to unify the whole congregation. Being "subject to one another in love," members must serve one another and be obedient to the Divine Voice. This Voice they believed they heard either in their hearts as approving or disapproving of any intended course of action, or in cases of uncertainty; and in giving or receiving a call to work for the kingdom of God, they regarded the decisions of their spiritual leaders in the same light, especially as the decision was nearly always come to after asking for an intimation of the Saviour's will through the "Lot." "In obedience to the Saviour and the Church" was the current expression of the relation of the individual to the whole church. Unquestioning compliance with every commission coming from the

Directing Board thus became a distinguishing feature of the Brethren, although it was never actually promulgated as a law of the church. This spirit may to some extent have been the outcome of the semi-feudal relations in which the inhabitants of Herrnhut stood to Zinzendorf. And after he had received the episcopal consecration of the Ancient Brethren's Church at the hands of Jablonsky, the weight of his authority could not fail to be still further increased.

By adopting such an organisation, the community at Herrnhut had practically outgrown the limits of an "ecclesiola," and was bound to take its place as a separate church, side by side with the Lutheran communion, and therewith to sever its connection with the Berthelsdorf parish. The trend in this direction was at first quite contrary to Zinzendorf's wishes, though he did not consistently oppose it, nay, he even sometimes expressly sanctioned it. It is not possible to say whether he was compelled by his colleagues to favour in special cases what he otherwise denounced as separatism, or whether he was not conscious at the time of the consequences of the step he was taking.

His denunciation of the names "Moravian Church" and "Moravian Brethren," and his substitution of the simple appellation "Brethren" could not stay the gradual severance from the Lutheran Church (20). Of as little avail was his enunciation of what he called "das Tropenprinzip." By this he meant that as the unity of the spirit can be kept in spite of the diversity of creeds and liturgies, so the peculiar Moravian genius (*τρόπος*) of the Emigrants could retain the old Moravian discipline and forms of worship, while the other members of the community might as rightly retain the Lutheran or Reformed ritual they had been accustomed to. It was, however, mainly Moravian Emigrants who accompanied him in his enforced wanderings (21), and, as the so-called "Pilgrim Church" formed the focus of the wide-spread activity of the church. Thus the church order of the Ancient Brethren was, contrary to Zinzendorf's will, introduced into the greater number of the settlements. However, he induced the Synod held in Gotha

in 1740, to resolve that adherents who did not live in any of the settlements might stand in a freer relation to Herrnhut, under the name of the "Diaspora," the "dispersed" remaining still members of their original church while enjoying the spiritual care of the Brethren. Neither did the adoption of the Confession of Augsburg, on which great stress has been laid, form an effectual barrier to separation from the Lutheran Church. For the latter, after all, existed only in the form of the national church, with consistory and parochial divisions, and from such an organisation the Brethren's Church shut itself out just during the first years of its connection with England.

There were also factors that worked positively in the development of the "ecclesiola" into an "ecclesia." For one thing the members of the "ecclesiola" at Herrnhut were also members of a civic community locally separated from the parish of Berthelsdorf. It is true that when David Nitschmann was consecrated a Bishop of the Brethren's Church, it was stated that this was only for the mission fields in English colonies, and that Herrnhut was still to retain its position in the Berthelsdorf parish; but still the people of Herrnhut were conscious of being an independent community, and proved this by proceeding to the election of a minister from Wurtemberg, and not from the national church of Saxony (22). Then the consecration of Zinzendorf himself as a Bishop of congregations in other parts brought the matter to a crisis. The first new settlement founded in Europe in 1737 (23) was Pilgeruh in Holstein, for which Nitschmann had already, in 1736, ordained a minister by virtue of his Moravian episcopate. At Zinzendorf's own wish, a settlement was also established at Herrenhaag, in the County of Buedingen, where awakened souls belonging to the Reformed Churches were to settle, and according to the "Tropenprinzip," have the Reformed ritual, while Lutherans were to settle on the same principle at Herrnhut (24). But even in these two places the connection of the people with their respective churches was of a purely spiritual character, or even only a matter of liturgic conformity. The spiritual union appeared to Zinzendorf to be

easily practicable, because he, in common with the representatives of the Ancient Brethren's Church, regarded that church as the mother of all other Protestant Churches through Huss. He therefore concluded that the Brethren must necessarily feel at home in any evangelical church, and vice-versa (25).

The relations of the Brethren's Church to other churches, as well as its internal arrangement and administration, were still, in the years 1730-1740, very vague and unsettled, and therefore exposed to a large amount of sharp and even hostile criticism. Zinzendorf himself was banished from his country for a long time on account of his connection with Herrnhut. Nevertheless it is astonishing how much he accomplished with his few followers. Not only did Herrnhut increase and flourish, and become a centre of education; not only were delegates dispatched to nearly every country of Europe to give information about the little community and to enlist sympathisers; but the little settlement, during the first decade of its existence, had blossomed into one of the first Missionary Societies of the world—as it is at this day the oldest of the existing Missionary Societies—sending missionaries to many parts of the world. This was possible only at the cost of great self-sacrifice and self-denial. It was at the time of missionary activity that the Brethren came into touch with England, where they wrought much good, and gained a firm footing.

THE INITIAL STAGES OF CONTACT WITH ENGLAND BEFORE THE YEAR 1738.

The first mention of any intercourse between Herrnhut and England is found in a letter of Zinzendorf's in 1728, written to Countess Sophia von Schaumburg-Lippe, who was Lady-in-waiting at the English Court. He had namely heard that "a wild man of the woods" had been brought to England (26), whom he wished the King to entrust to his care for the purpose of psychological study and the attempt to educate him. Further in the same year there is mention made of a Moravian Brother having a correspondence with one of the many Germans resi-

dent in London. So far, however Zinzendorf had been unwilling to enter into any closer relations with England. But Countess Sophia had become interested in the Brethren, and wrote to Zinzendorf asking for information about his work. So that already, on the 3rd April, 1728, it was resolved in a conference of the Elders to send Johann Toeltschig, a native of Moravia, to England. Their purpose in so doing was of a Philadelphian character, viz.: "to tell such as were not blinded by their lusts, but whose eyes God had opened, what God had wrought." David Nitschmann and Wenzel Neisser, both also natives of Moravia, accompanied Toeltschig, bearing letters from Zinzendorf to the University of Oxford, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, and the Countess of Schaumburg-Lippe. This lady was requested to introduce the deputies to the Queen. They travelled by way of Jena, where they received another letter of recommendation to Ziegenhagen from Buddaeus. Here, too, they had their other letters translated into Latin by some of the students. After a journey full of trying adventures they arrived in London, to receive but a cool reception from Ziegenhagen, who evidently did not wish to commit himself. He, however, made ample provision for their comfort, as all their own means were spent. On account of the absence from town of the majority of influential people (27), he could do little for them in the way of introduction. Countess von Schaumburg-Lippe received them with the greatest kindness, but dissuaded them from visiting Oxford on account of their not being able to speak English. The Queen, though she had at first seemed willing to do so, did not grant them an audience (28). They had therefore to return home without having effected very much. The Countess kindly sent them across in her yacht. On the 8th September, the day after their arrival in Herrnhut, their reports and the letters they had brought with them, were read to the congregation (29).

Whether the Brethren had extended their connections to any appreciable degree by this embassy, is doubtful, especially as we find but one letter to an Englishman in Zinzendorf's correspondence of the year next following (30).

A second visit to England was made in connection with the Foreign Mission work of the Brethren which had been begun in 1732. The Schwenkfelders who had found a refuge on Zinzendorf's estates were ordered by government to leave the country (31). Now Zinzendorf had heard that the colonial authorities of Georgia were seeking emigrants from Germany. After mentioning this to the Schwenkfelders, he wrote an anonymous letter to the Georgia Trustees, applying for a grant of land and religious liberty for about 30 Schwenkfelder families. The reply to this application was so far favourable, that the land could be granted, but that the voyage out could not be paid by the Colony. Still Zinzendorf accepted the offer, and Professor Spangenberg, who had come to Herrnhut in 1733, undertook the spiritual charge of the emigrants. But in Holland they received, and of course accepted, the offer of a free passage to Pennsylvania. Though Spangenberg was willing to accompany them thither, he received instructions from Herrnhut to go first to London to make arrangements with the Georgia Trustees in connection with a plan of Zinzendorf's, to send to Georgia a colony of Moravian emigrants for the purpose of beginning a mission among the Indians there (32).

August Gottlieb Spangenberg, born in 1704, had, while studying theology at Jena, come under the influence of the religious revival there (33). His first acquaintance with the Brethren was on the occasion of the first deputies to England passing through Jena. His personal acquaintance with Zinzendorf dates from the year 1728, while the latter was visiting this University town. Called in 1732 to the University and Orphanage in Halle, he, after some hesitation and prayer for God's guidance, decided to be guided by the advice of the King of Prussia, with the result that the King approved of the call, and Spangenberg accepted it. But they soon found out in Halle that he had separatistic tendencies, and had intercourse with secretaries (34), and was not orthodox in his views on the question of the Lord's Supper. These his errors were ascribed to his connection with Zinzendorf, and he was ordered to break it off;

for they were loth to lose the services of so learned, amiable, and conscientious a man. But he could not give way in this matter, and was consequently dismissed from Halle by a royal edict.

As a former Halle man, Ziegenhagen was bound to hear of this. In spite of this, however, and of the fact that he was in a way the agent for the missions of Halle and the Salzburger, he received Spangenberg kindly (35); probably because he recognised the man's ability, and perhaps still hoped to separate him from Zinzendorf, and thus regain him for Halle (36). News now reached the ears of Ziegenhagen that ten of the Brethren had already set out for Georgia. This was true, but Spangenberg had not been informed of it (37). Ziegenhagen did not believe, however, in his ignorance of the fact, and began to distrust him. Besides, German influence had been brought to bear upon him, to prevent the Brethren from going to Georgia. Spangenberg had an interview with General Oglethorpe, Ziegenhagen cunningly offering his services as interpreter. Spangenberg, however, noticed that his interpreter introduced attacks on the Brethren. He therefore began to address Oglethorpe in Latin. This man had all the necessary ability and zeal for his work, and examined closely into the application of the Brethren. He asked Spangenberg to translate into Latin the legally signed and witnessed document, in which the Brethren declared that they were genuine descendants of the Brethren's Church of Bohemia and Moravia, and that, while not dissenting from the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, they wished to adhere to the church discipline of the Brethren, which had been in force before the Reformation, and was to them a priceless treasure (38). This induced Oglethorpe to become a decided and helpful supporter of the Brethren. Ziegenhagen was so irritated by this, that he formed a party among his friends hostile to the Brethren. Some of these friends had great influence with the German courtiers around George II., and were able to exercise pressure on the Georgian Trustees.

The ship in which the ten Brethren had sailed ran onto a sandbank near the English coast, and they had to be taken

ashore in boats, and continue their journey to London on foot. This was on the 15th of January, 1735. Oglethorpe, whom Spangenberg happened to visit on that same day, found lodgings for the Brethren, but the house was burned down before they had entered it. They were thankful for their providential escape. They met, however, with less kindness from the Georgia Trustees, whose objections were that it was actual exiles who were wanted, whereas there was no religious persecution at the time in Saxony; that being uneducated people the Brethren were not capable of undertaking Mission work, and so forth. However, Oglethorpe threw the whole weight of his authority into the scales in favour of the Brethren, and acquired a grant of 500 acres for Zinzendorf, and one of 50 acres for Spangenberg,—both plots being in the neighbourhood of Savannah (39). He also specially recommended them to the Governor there (40).

Spangenberg perceived that it would be desirable for him to be episcopally ordained in order to be on a footing of equality with the Anglican ministers in Georgia. He therefore applied to the Bishop of London for ordination, having been introduced by Mr. Vernon, who was secretary to the Georgia Committee, and a friend of the Brethren. The Bishop seems to have consented (41), but the ordination did not take place.

David Nitschmann, the "Synodic," who had accompanied the ten Brethren bound for Georgia, brought Spangenberg a letter from Zinzendorf containing a formal call to be minister in Georgia. He therefore joined the company, and arrived with them in North America in June. They arranged their services as much as possible after the Herrnhut pattern, and were soon hard at work building their settlement.

In a short time Bishop David Nitchmann brought 20 more Moravians, amongst whom were the wives of some of the first settlers. In the same ship there came the four Oxford friends, as already mentioned. John Wesley gives in his Journal the impression made upon him by these Moravians. He and Nitschmann began to learn each other's language in order that they might be able to converse. During a storm on the voyage

all the English were weeping and crying out, while the Moravians remained calmly in prayer, not even the women and children evincing any signs of fear. Nitschmann explained the reason of this to Wesley in the brief words of a foreigner not well-acquainted with the language, "Our women and children fear not to die" (42). The impression made on Wesley's mind was that of superiority, an impression that was deepened, when he met Spangenberg, the highly educated representative of the Moravian Church. When Wesley sought the latter's advice with regard to the work he had come to do in Georgia, he was taken aback by being subjected to a short catechising. "Do you know Jesus Christ?" was one of the questions, to which Wesley answered, "I know He is the Saviour of the world." "True," said Spangenberg, "but do you know He has saved you?" Wesley could only say, "I hope He has died to save me." This led him to see that there was something wanting in his Christianity, and this he hoped to find with the Moravians, to whom he felt greatly drawn. In his subsequent frequent intercourse with the Brethren, he made himself acquainted with their ecclesiastical constitution, of which he had only generally heard on board ship.

After the congregation had been settled in Georgia in all respects after the pattern of Herrnhut, Spangenberg proceeded to Pennsylvania, and Nitschmann returned to Germany, leaving Anton Seiffart, a far-seeing and withal humble-minded man, in charge as Moravian Bishop in Georgia (43). Wesley, who was present at the consecration service, was deeply impressed by the simplicity of the ceremony. He felt himself carried back to the times of St. Peter and St. Paul (44).

Wesley was soon to have proof positive of the superiority of the methods of the Brethren. His relations with a young lady as her spiritual adviser giving rise to much gossip, he asked the Brethren whether he ought to marry her. They said, No. Tyerman asserts that Wesley acted foolishly in this affair (45). In any case it is noteworthy that a man who, like Wesley, was seeking Christian perfection in unblameable conduct, should

ask for counsel in a case in which he could not come to a decision himself. Eventually he had to leave Savannah hastily in consequence of legal action being taken against him by a man whom the lady had married, and who resented Wesley's action in debarring his wife from the Lord's Supper for certain strictly High Church reasons.

Charles Wesley had already left North America, completely cowed and disheartened (46).

Oglethorpe, who had ample opportunity to observe the Brethren in Georgia, was so satisfied with their work, that he asked Zinzendorf to send more Brethren (47) as missionaries among the negroes of South Carolina. This occurred just at a time when Zinzendorf was in doubt whether he should seek consecration as a bishop. In order to ascertain what the attitude of the Anglican Church would be towards bishops and ministers of the Brethren's Church in the American colonies, he came with Neisser to London, and was followed in a few days by Bishop Nitschmann, along with Countess Zinzendorf and Anna Nitschmann. They rented Lindsey House as being situated conveniently near to the Georgia Committee rooms. Zinzendorf had many consultations with Oglethorpe and the committee, whose minds he succeeded in disabusing of the wrong impressions conveyed by Ziegenhagen. Some of the members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were even inclined to hand over to the Brethren the whole of the missionary work in the North American colonies. But at this point the difficulty of episcopal ordination made itself felt.

Zinzendorf therefore addressed a letter to Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Jablonsky had mentioned to him, and to whom he had already written, without, however, receiving a reply (48). Potter, who had heard of Zinzendorf through Charles Wesley (49), sent a polite reply to this second letter, and on the same day the two met at Zinzendorf's house. The Archbishop said, in the course of the conversation, that he considered all the objections to the Moravian episcopal succession trivial. Only those who were ignorant of Church history could

doubt its validity. But at the same time he made it clear that he could give no official recognition without the consent of the King as supreme head of the Anglican Church (50).

Two days later Oglethorpe and Benton approached Potter on behalf of the Georgia Trustees in the same matter. Again the Archbishop expressed himself satisfied. He had known the Moravian Church for a long time. It was an episcopal and apostolical church, and taught nothing at variance with the XXXIX Articles. Therefore there was no reason why the conversion of the heathen should not be entrusted to the Brethren (51). Lastly, Bishop Nitchmann visited the Archbishop, and received the assurances of his Grace's affection (52)—but there was no official recognition forthcoming.

Nevertheless Zinzendorf had every reason to be satisfied with the result of his visit, especially as he had formed connections in two other directions (53).

Charles Wesley, on his arrival from Georgia, had been taken by James Hutton into his father's house, where he was treated as a son. Zinzendorf, arriving soon after in London, and hearing of Charles Wesley being there, at once sent to ask him to come to him. Wesley came and was introduced to the Countess, whom he describes as a woman of "great seriousness and sweetness." He also tells of a service he attended there, in which he felt as if "in the midst of a choir of angels." He had also some talk with Zinzendorf about visiting Germany, but nothing further came of it.

The other tie that Zinzendorf formed was with the German congregation, without receiving, as may be imagined, any countenance from their minister, Ziegenhagen. Zinzendorf held services in his own house, which were open to all. One result was that he induced ten young people to form a society (54), with rules which enjoined the reading of the Bible, meeting for mutual edification, openness and sincerity in their dealings, willingness to help one another, abstention from theological controversy, an earnest striving after salvation through Christ's blood, and brotherly love. Zinzendorf, who was full of his ideal

to bring children of God into union with each other without prejudice to their church membership, and to the exclusion of all non-essential questions, must have found these societies a welcome help in attaining his purpose.

His visit to London, which terminated on the 6th March, had convinced him that it was the Lord's will that the Brethren should enter upon work for the Kingdom of Christ in England. The small society he had formed seemed to be an auspicious beginning. On the occasion of his consecration as a Bishop of the Moravian Church he received a congratulatory letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, couched in cordial and flattering terms (55).

THE FETTER LANE SOCIETY AND WESLEY'S CONNECTION WITH THE BRETHREN.

A minister being soon wanted for the religious colony in Savannah, Peter Boehler was called from Jena to act as the leader of some missionaries that were being sent out to South Carolina. Boehler is the most attractive figure in this period of the history of the Brethren. In a man of medium height, with extremely sloping shoulders, a broad massive nose and friendly, bright eyes, the attraction lay certainly not in the outward appearance, but in the peaceful charm of a modest nature. His modesty had not been artificially acquired, like Wesley's, nor was it fitful like Zinzendorf's, but habitual and natural. Withal he possessed acuteness of intellect and lucidity of speech, the latter, it is true, marred by some of the extravagances of the "Time of Sifting." He was too straightforward and sincere to express approval of all that he saw, but at the same time he was too good-natured and yielding to oppose his superior wisdom to the follies of others. In short, he was not a born leader, like Zinzendorf and Spangenberg. While, however, keeping himself modestly in the background, he was neither a laggard nor a coward, when the service of Christ called for action. He was therefore a man who, without making a great show, achieved great things.

Born in Frankfort on the Maine in 1712, he received from the Pietists of Jena impressions that moulded his religious life and work. In Jena he experienced instantaneous conversion (56), in 1731, and ever after held that sudden conversion was the norm, and by convincing Wesley of this he became, like Law, one of the fathers of Methodism. [In recognition of what they owe to him, the Wesleyans built Boehler Chapel, Commercial Road, London, in 1881.] It was in Jena also that he became acquainted with Zinzendorf, and through him came into closer connection with the Brethren's Church. He visited Herrnhut in 1735, and in 1737 became tutor to Zinzendorf's son when he came to Jena.

Boehler was the leader of a conventicle which, formed under Zinzendorf's influence, soon numbered 100 students, of whom nearly the half eventually went to Herrnhut. His own reception into the Moravian Church took place at Herrnhut in 1737, and in the same year he was ordained by Zinzendorf and D. Nitschmann.

Soon after this he visited England, and stayed chiefly in London and Oxford. First he sought out the German Society which Zinzendorf had formed, but in which, the members said, he did not seem to take much interest.

This short visit was destined to have an important bearing upon the revival of religion at this period. It was, moreover, the means of first really establishing the Brethren in England. Boehler wrote, "The English people in London made a wonderful to-do about me, and though I could not speak much English, they were always wanting me to tell them about our Saviour, His blood and wounds, the forgiveness of sins, the Sinner's Friend, &c. These were indeed the subjects the people desired to hear about, but on which neither Law, nor Wesley at that time, could give them any instruction. In Oxford Boehler had to preach twice a day, in addition to having "private conversations, all of which affected the minds of people in a quiet way." He also came into touch with some of the Friends, with whom Zinzendorf had made acquaintance. With three of the

students, Washington, Watson and Coombes, he met every Friday evening to "hold bands." A "Band" for women also was subsequently formed, and "Bands" for the married and single were formed in London also.

The Religious Societies invited Boehler to preach to them, and some of the members determined to migrate to Herrnhut to escape the persecution of scoffers.

Boehler, however, complains that the love of novelty especially in external things, seemed to be the motive in many of the imitators of the Brethren. Nevertheless, it was he mainly who gained a footing for the Brethren's Church in England, chiefly, it is true, among the working classes, but also among many educated people.

Foremost among the latter class was John Wesley himself, the most prominent religious teacher of the time. The meeting of the two men was accidental (57). Boehler came to London about a week after Wesley had arrived from America, bringing with him a letter from Toeltschig for Zinzendorf. Wesley found lodgings for Boehler and his companions near Hutton's house, in which he himself was staying. About a week later the two Wesleys accompanied Boehler to Oxford, where they introduced him to their friends—Gambold among others. John Wesley was obliged to return to London soon, but Charles remained with Boehler, and gave him lessons in English. During this time Charles fell dangerously ill, and Boehler watched by his bed for several nights. After a stay of three weeks, during which he preached in both English and Latin, Boehler left for London, where he had frequent conversations with John Wesley.

The latter, still smarting with the pain of his failure in America, came to see that the fault had lain with himself. The remembrance also of what he had seen of the Moravians out there, caused him to confess that his was a fair-weather religion and nothing more (58). He had been able to preach well and to have faith, as long as all went well; but face to face with danger and death, he had lost heart. Boehler showed him simply

and plainly (59) that true faith in Christ produces abiding peace because of the knowledge of sin forgiven; and that he had learned from his own experience that in conversion there is the consciousness of an instantaneous change of heart. The latter assertion was particularly distasteful to Wesley; but he was quietly recommended to search the Scriptures on the subject. He did so, and found that nearly all the cases of conversion recorded in the Bible were indeed of an instantaneous nature. Even then, however, he objected, that though he must admit that this had been God's way with the early Christians, the times had changed. How could he, therefore, be sure that God's way had remained the same? Since he could not accept Boehler's own case as typical, the latter produced four other witnesses on the same side, who were Germans. It was not, however, until eight more cases of instantaneous conversion, some of them being in English people, were adduced, that Wesley's natural antipathy to this doctrine was overcome, he granting that Boehler must be right. But he complained that he himself had not the assurance of faith, and was therefore still unconverted.

Soon after this Boehler founded a Society, on the pattern of the existing Religious Societies, among ten young men in Hutton's house, among whom were J. Wesley and J. Hutton. It was subsequently called the Fetter Lane Society, from the street their meeting-place was in.

The rules of this Society claimed to be made in conformity with God's law given by St. James, and with the approval of Peter Boehler. They comprised many things, as for instance weekly meetings for confession of faults to one another, and prayer for pardon: the formation of "bands": experience meetings: conditions of admission: a special day of intercession every fourth Sunday: a general lovefeast on the Sunday following, from 7 to 10 p.m.: action contrary to rules of the Society if persisted in, punished with exclusion.

Boehler is responsible only for the rule ordaining the weekly meetings, and for another that he recommended, viz., That the

meetings be open to all sincere persons (60). The rest are said by Tyerman to have been generally ascribed to Wesley. And certainly their whole tenor bears the impress of Wesley's spirit, as witness the reference to his favourite Apostle, St. James, and the special accentuation of mutual openness, as well as some sentences that were subsequently added, enjoining periodical fasting, strictly enforcing punctuality and order, forbidding members to join clubs, to leave home without permission from the "Bands," or to join hostile societies. The zeal that induced members to accept such interference with their personal liberty must have been the outcome of enthusiasm, and reminds us of the regulations at Herrnhut, which Wesley had no doubt copied.

Boehler, quiet and young as he was, exercised a great influence upon Wesley (61). It is true that the conversion of the Wesleys took place after he had left for America. It happened in this way. On the 1st June, 1738, Charles Wesley, while lying ill, found "peace and joy" as some friends around his bed were singing a hymn. For three days after this John was in an agony, and then suddenly felt the assurance of his salvation. He could state the exact hour—8-45 p.m. This occurred at a meeting of a Religious Society in Aldersgate Street, when, during the reading of Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, his heart began to glow strangely, and he felt that he believed in Christ.

Now although there can be no doubt that, humanly speaking, Boehler's influence was an important factor in this conversion, it was at the same time not a conversion to the Moravian type of Christianity. Wesley simply added new knowledge to his previous views. In addition to judging of faith by works, as heretofore, he now insisted on the necessity of being able to point to a certain hour as the time of conversion, both criteria being, it will be observed, of an exoteric character. Before his acquaintance with Boehler, he had not understood that the new birth was brought about by the grace of God alone, and even now he failed to perceive that conversion consisted, not in an external impression, but in a change of heart. Thus his former

views remained unchanged, and were consequently at variance with those of the Brethren. Nevertheless, prompted by gratitude for the good he had received from them, and unaware of the fundamental differences existing between them and himself, he felt more than ever desirous of becoming acquainted with the Moravians at Herrnhut, in order to learn the secret of their happiness.

In a few weeks he set out in company with four Englishmen and three Germans, Benj. Ingham and Toeltschig being amongst the number. First they called at Marienborn. Here he met Zinzendorf, with whom he had already corresponded when in Georgia (62). Though these two men may have loved one another so long as they lived apart, and had a great mutual desire to become acquainted, it was impossible for them to work together for long. Both were men of strong individuality, strong especially in self-assertion; both were accustomed to lead, not to follow; each desired to devote his entire strength to the service of religion; but each also had his peculiar views and talents. Zinzendorf's piety was that of feeling at high tension, Wesley's a strenuous striving after holiness. Zinzendorf attached no importance to creed differences, whilst Wesley sought salvation in the strict observance of his church's rules. Again, Zinzendorf could on occasion be diplomatically reserved, even to the verge of untruthfulness, with a stranger; but Wesley met him with the set purpose of learning everything and concealing nothing, straightforwardness being to his mind the foundation of all Christian intercourse. Lastly, there was the difference of nationality between them, which caused mutual misunderstanding, owing to their imperfect knowledge of each other's language.

Short as Wesley's stay at Marienborn was, we seem already to detect a jarring note in the harmony. Hampson relates an incident, repeated by Niemeyer and Overton, how Zinzendorf once sent Wesley into the garden to dig. While Wesley was in his shirt sleeves and dripping with perspiration over his work, Zinzendorf called to him to get into the carriage with him for

a visit to a count living in the neighbourhood. Wesley, of course, wished first to wash and dress, but Zinzendorf said, "No, brother, it behoves us to be simple." The truth of this story is doubtful, not because Wesley's Journal does not give it, but because Hampson had parted from Wesley in anger. And Hampson's assertion that he got the story "from Germany" (meaning thereby the Moravians) does not add to his credibility; for there was in that quarter a considerable amount of prejudice against Wesley. Still, there is nothing improbable about the story; for Zinzendorf was accustomed to give such commands, and already feeling an aversion to Wesley on account of the latter's conceitedness, may have used the opportunity to administer a reproof. It is also just possible that the first of the words "We must be simple" indicated himself and the count they were going to visit, as much as to say that noblemen must not on account of their rank expect to have too much respect shown to them.

At any rate, that the relations between Wesley and the Brethren became strained is proved by the fact that he was regarded by them as "a restless man" (63), and was not admitted to the Lord's Supper with them. With Ingham it fared better in this respect. The Brethren thought his heart was sounder than his head, and admitted him to the Communion. Thus it came that Wesley left Marienborn, while Ingham still remained there some time.

✓ Wesley then went on to Herrnhut, where he found an old Georgia acquaintance, Hermsdorf by name, who did all in his power to make Wesley's visit pleasant and instructive. What the latter most desired was to make the acquaintance of Christian David and the other Moravian exiles. They had to tell him the history of their life and conversion, which he committed to writing (64). The whole life at Herrnhut impressed him deeply. He writes that he could have wished to spend the rest of his days there (65); but that, being called by his Master to serve in another part of the vineyard, he had been compelled to leave this happy spot. Martin Dober and some more of the

Brethren accompanied him for about four miles when he left Herrnhut. He exclaims, "Oh, when shall this Christianity cover the earth as the waters cover the sea?" What overcame him was the sight of the simple people who had, some of them, left hearth and home for their faith's sake, and were now joyful confessors and consistent followers of Christ. Amongst them the Christian life was evidenced by practical manly action. On this, his estimate of the entire Brethren's Church was at that time formed. But after he had returned to England, the representations of Franke, jun., whom he had visited after leaving Herrnhut (66) caused him to form a different opinion. And the memory of the treatment he had received from the German members of the Brethren's Church at Marienborn obliterated his remembrance of the joyous faith of the Moravian exiles at Herrnhut. He grew to be more and more doubtful of the genuineness of Moravianism. Once more at home, his old habits and views took possession of him anew. His stay in Germany had been after all but an episode.

THE DISRUPTION.

Close upon the enthusiastic feeling of spiritual union with the Brethren, there followed a reaction. True, there still remained the external bond of the Fetter Lane Society for a whole year, but the germ of mutual dissatisfaction was ever developing. It had, indeed, lain there on their first acquaintance. The Brethren had from the first treated the Wesleys as novices in religion, and had tried to convert them to the right way—their own. Apart from this, they felt all through that John Wesley's views in general were not in harmony with theirs. It was, in fact, Wesley who altered his first opinion of the Brethren. But even his original feeling of admiration for them had not been quite unmixed with doubts. Already, in America, when the Brethren's settlement was founded at Savannah, he had found fault with them (67), and he subsequently complained to Boehler of Spangenberg's want of straightforwardness at that time (68).

The fundamental difference between the Methodists and the Brethren asserted itself for the first time distinctly on the question of the value of the outward forms of religious services. This was during Boehler's first visit to Oxford. The Oxford Methodists, in strict obedience to the rules of the Anglican Church, were in the habit of reading the Evening Prayer every Wednesday and Friday before drinking tea together at three o'clock in the afternoon, when they conversed on religious subjects. This piece of formality was very distasteful to Boehler, who induced some of Wesley's friends to free themselves from the trammels of form. So it came that one fast-day some of them asked Boehler to lead in prayer instead of their having the order of Evening Prayer. But Wesley scented sectarianism in this breach of the rules, and being displeased with Boehler's being a party to it, he one evening spoke to three who were of "Boehler's set" about the form of service that had been usual with them, and then quite abruptly began to accuse the Brethren in Georgia of not having been sufficiently open, patient, and meek. The opportunity was evidently grasped at to read a long-meditated lecture to the Brethren. The disregard of orthodox forms, as well as the faults just mentioned, he considered to be symptoms of one and the same disease—defective Christianity.

In Marienborn other fundamental differences had manifested themselves, apart from personal incompatibility. For instance Wesley, on taking notes of Zinzendorf's sermons (69), found that the theology preached did not harmonise with his own. Now the theology of the Brethren, and especially that of Zinzendorf, appealed to practical religious sentiment, and not to the dogmatically critical mind. Zinzendorf maintained that a man may be justified and have peace with God without his being aware of it, though others will, judging from his altered conduct, admit the reality of the change that has taken place in his heart. Wesley retorted that a justification of which a man is not aware, is no justification at all; had he not expressly learned from Boehler that a feeling of joy must immediately follow upon true faith and the justification it brought? Another

point;—Zinzendorf asserted that justification and sanctification, or the new birth, are one and the same thing. But Wesley had made the experience that sanctification was a gradual process, beginning with justification. Therefore he, who had with such earnestness and difficulty striven after holiness, considered Zinzendorf's teaching too superficial, too easy. On the other hand, Zinzendorf and the Brethren held that Wesley's views on the subject smacked too much of self-righteousness and "opus operatum" (salvation by works). It was on account of this that they did not allow Wesley to sit down with them at the Lord's Table.

There were other things noticed in Germany which displeased him, and which he has sharply and in many cases justly criticised in an interesting letter which he did not at that time dispatch, because he was not sure that his strictures were justified. But he subsequently wrote to Zinzendorf (70), saying that he hoped to see the Brethren in Herrnhut at least once more, if only to tell them what he could not approve of in them, perhaps, he said, because he did not understand them. To this Zinzendorf replied (71) that he could not quite understand the letter, but that this was no doubt owing to his knowledge of English being so defective. He also says that if Wesley would tell him straight out what he disapproved of, he would listen to him; the differences between them would probably show themselves in Church arrangements; "for," Zinzendorf adds, "I find it difficult to draw a sharp line of demarcation between secular and ecclesiastical matters, in the way our Saviour made the distinction in His day." It was only after his complete rupture with the Brethren that Wesley published the other letter alluded to above (72).

In the meanwhile he still kept up his connection with the Fetter Lane Society, which had bought a chapel in Fetter Lane, through Hutton as their agent. James Hutton was the soul of the Society, and conducted the meetings during the absences of the Wesleys. At first the Society continued in grateful attachment to the Moravian Brethren (73). But gradually Wesley's

powerful personality gained the upper hand in the minds of some of the members, as was evidenced by the alteration of the original rules, already alluded to. Perhaps it was also by his advice that the experience of instantaneous conversion was made a condition of membership. Still the Society increased in numbers; for it appears that in 1738 there were fifty members, amongst whom were Brown, West and Holland. The last named and some others were the fruit of Boehler's labours. George Whitefield, the celebrated preacher, also joined the Society on his return from America. Ingham and a certain Browne, who had gone with Wesley to Germany, returned thence to the Society at this time. Others of the Oxford Methodists, when in town, preferred to attend the Fetter Lane Chapel. The New Year's Eve services of 1738 to 1739 were the acmé of the enthusiasm prevailing during this short period of amicable relations between Methodists and Moravians (74). Several of the Oxford Methodists, the two Wesleys, Ingham, Whitefield, and others were present at these services. With about six of the Moravian Brethren, they celebrated New Year's Eve in accordance with the Herrnhut pattern, meeting first at a lovefeast, and remaining together until three o'clock in the morning,—a not unusual hour at that period for separating either at Herrnhut or in London. Wesley says in his Journal that as they were engaged in prayer at about three o'clock, the power of God came upon them, so that some cried out for very joy, and some fell to the ground, and that as soon as they had in some measure recovered from the excitement produced by the feeling of awe and wonder at God's majesty, they sang as with one voice, "We praise Thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord."

In this way Fetter Lane Chapel became a centre for enthusiasts of the most heterogeneous types. Wesley and Whitefield were increasing their endeavours to arouse the slumbering world. When the churches were closed to him, Whitefield began to preach in the open air, and Wesley, hesitatingly at first, followed his example, proclaiming with stormy zeal his old

views of justification and sanctification. But in the Fetter Lane Society there broke out under Bowers and Bray (75) a revolt against Wesley's autocratic behaviour, and preaching by laymen was advocated, which meant, of course, separation from the Established Church. Along with this movement, doubts began to be expressed concerning the genuineness of the Wesleyan form of conversion, the convulsions connected therewith being attributed to physical excitement. This point once abandoned, there was a return to Law's views, and justification was to be sought by works of the law (76). Being hastily summoned, Wesley succeeded in clearing up the "misunderstanding" that had been the cause of this schism. But the opposition soon revived when some Brethren came from Herrnhut. Hutton, after a lengthy stay at Herrnhut, namely, brought back with him a simple, warm-hearted man, called Toeltschig. Spangenberg arrived from Pennsylvania the same day. The latter felt compelled to oppose both of the parties in the Society (77). While agreeing with Wesley that a man who is born again does not sin, he went a step further, saying that such an one knows neither doubt nor fear, thus denying that there were degrees of faith. Yet, in order to avoid the suspicion of salvation by works, he advised those who had not yet acquired faith to absent themselves from the so-called means of grace, and especially the Lord's Supper, and in this way entered into direct conflict with the other party.

But the work of another man who had come to London before Toeltschig and Spangenberg very materially affected the relations between Wesley and those attached to the Brethren. This was Philip Heinrich Molther, senior. He had studied at Jena, and had been engaged by Boehler as French master to Zinzendorf's son, Christian Renatus. After that he had been a professor in the Moravian College in the Wetterau, after which he was ordained by Zinzendorf and sent to Pennsylvania. On his way thither he was detained in London by various circumstances. This was unfortunate; for though he had thus far exhibited no doctrinal peculiarities, such were developed in him

in the opposition he offered to Wesley's teaching. His calm mind did not approve of the hysterical behaviour of people in Wesley's services. He writes (78): "The first time I went to one of their meetings I was astonished and all but horrified to hear their sighs and groans, their whimpering and shouting, which they said was the evidence of the Spirit and power." In spite of his very imperfect English, Molther soon consented to preach. Though he sometimes spoke for several hours at a stretch in bad English, such crowds thronged to hear him, that the chapel and the adjoining yard could not hold them. He eclipsed even Wesley's authority in the Fetter Lane Society.

This marks the beginning of Wesley's open hostility, he himself giving the date of the occurrence as the 12th November, 1741 (see his Journal, Sept., 1741). Certainly Molther's teaching was anything but unobjectionable, and Wesley could trace its pernicious effects on some of his followers.

Molther—with Bray's (79) approval, it would seem—assured those who had been converted under Wesley, that so long as they had any doubts, they had not faith (80); for faith implies that all things have become new in the heart; that the believer has the assurance of the truth by the witness of the indwelling Spirit, and the clear consciousness of having Christ living in him. He further maintained that the knowledge of the love of God which many had learned from Boehler's preaching, was not a justifying faith, the joy and love accompanying such knowledge being traceable to external impressions. True faith, he said, was to be gained by being still and waiting for Christ. Since the means of grace were useless, unless we made them the foundation of faith, and since they could not produce faith, we ought not to use them, i.e., neither go to church, nor to the Lord's Supper, nor fast, nor pray, nor read the Bible. Neither should we try to do good; for no good could proceed from those who had not the Spirit of God. Still more startling were the logical conclusions of Molther concerning the preaching of this faith. Under certain circumstances, he said, it might be permissible to "use guile," saying things that the preacher knew

would deceive his hearers, and exaggerating things in order to at least draw people's attention to the truth. It was perhaps Molther's desire that his controversy with Wesley should be regarded in this light. Unfortunately some of his hearers, when he spoke, using guile and purposely exaggerating, did not take this view of it, but understood him to mean all that he said. He himself imagined that he had achieved much in England by warning people of their fundamental error, and by teaching them genuine restfulness. At any rate, he caused a schism in the Fetter Lane Society. Still observing the rules, members just met at nine o'clock to report themselves, but they left soon after. Some ten or fifteen of Molther's followers then gathered at a private house, where they spoke slightly of the means of grace, and proposed to found a new Church for themselves (81). This induced Wesley's friends to summon him to the spot. He could scarcely believe his ears, when Molther expounded his views to him. (Journal, 31 Dec., 1739). He had but a few days to spend in London about New Year, 1740, but in that short time he hoped to be able to convince the Brethren of their error. Then he started on his preaching tour, but only to be soon recalled. In conversation with some, whom he still respected and loved, he complained of their reserve in expressing their opinions. They justified themselves by appealing to the authority of the Moravian Church. This staggered him at first, but he soon retorted by seeking counsel in opening the Bible at hazard. His eye fell on John XXI, 22: "What is that to thee? Follow thou Me." (82). In a few weeks he was summoned by his friends for the third time. On this occasion there was silence in the Fetter Lane Chapel by the space of nearly two hours, each party seeming to distrust the other. In other quarters, too, e.g., in a Society at Islington, quietistic views gained the upperhand (83). Wesley attacked them without mercy, and pointed his weapons more openly against the Moravians in general. He took a certain Nowers, who had been a member of the Brethren's congregation at Herrenhaag, but had recently left them, and now attacked them, into the

Religious Societies that had come under the influence of the Moravians (84). During this visit to London, Wesley preached against Quietism and tried to prove from the Epistle of St. James, that works were necessary as well as faith. He was not very successful, only a few of his old followers remaining faithful to him. Once, when preaching in Fetter Lane Chapel, he read a passage from the "Mystic Divinity of Dionysius" (85), which was wrongly supposed to be a favourite book among the Brethren, whereupon only one member expressed approval of the book and disapproval of Wesley. But after the question had been debated, whether Wesley should be allowed to preach to this Society any more, the decisive resolution passed was "No; this place is taken for the Germans." (86).

Wesley made one more—his last—attempt at Fetter Lane, and at the close of a meeting accused the members, and especially the Brethren, of holding certain false doctrines, and asked them if they meant to persist in them (87). A voice from the meeting answering "Yes," Wesley replied that such views were erroneous, and left the Hall exclaiming: "Let those who agree with me follow me." Some 18 or 19 of the members went out after him. The rest now called upon the Brethren to be their leaders (88). But Toeltschig replied with great tact: "The Moravian Brethren do not desire to be your leaders, but they will be glad to be your servants," and Molther thereupon preached a sermon. In this way a Religious Society of the Church of England became a Society of the Brethren, Toeltschig and Molther undertaking the spiritual oversight, while Hutton became their business manager.

After this, Wesley and his followers met in the "Foundry," a hall that had been opened in the spring by another society, which now assumed a Methodist and anti-Moravian character. The day of its first meeting may be regarded as the birthday of the first Methodist congregation, which increased rapidly, there being soon fifty female members; for the Wesleys had the most striking influence upon women. John Wesley adopted the Moravian plan of dividing the congregation into "Bands,"

each with its special "meetings"; but instead of adopting the Moravian "choir" arrangements, he instituted "Classes," each with its "Class meeting." A "Class" consisted of only eleven members, one of whom was well-to-do and the rest poor. Social work formed the foundation of their activity. Wesley also adopted the Moravian "Lovefeast," and the "Watch Night" services, which he introduced first at Kingswood. But his great power of organisation was shown in the development of a well-ordered ecclesiastical system, and in laying a sound financial basis (89).

Molther's fanatical excesses had the effect of not only counter-acting the legal spirit of Wesley in the Society, but also of driving the man himself out of it. Though the contest had not been confined to abstract questions, but had been conducted with a good deal of personal animosity, yet there were too many personal ties between the two parties—e.g., between their two leading men, Wesley and Hutton—to have allowed the breach to become irreparable, if only the leaders of the Moravian Church had repudiated Molther's heterodox teaching. Wesley himself seems to have desired re-union. After the rupture he published the second part of his Journal, in which, after describing his conversion and his visit to Herrnhut, he speaks in very appreciative terms of the Moravian Church. Nay, he even defends it against the imputation of its being responsible for the heterodox views disseminated by individuals in England. In this spirit he also addressed a long letter, dated August, 1740, to "The Church of God at Herrnhut" (90), wherein he enumerates the erroneous doctrines of some of the Brethren in England, and urges the duty of dismissing such men. In addition to the errors of mysticism, quietism, and anti-Moravianism, he brings against them the indictment of worldliness and self-righteousness. They had, he said, too high an opinion of their church, and would not allow any fault to be found with it; nay, some of them went so far as to declare it to be the only true church. He had not met with so much as one Moravian in England who would admit himself to be in the

wrong. The reply to this letter is given in full in the "Buedingische Sammlung" (91), but by Wesley himself only in part. In it some of the doctrines condemned by Wesley are defended. Spangenberg's view of the imperfection of the converted was homologated. But the various doctrinal differences were not gone into in detail. Nor was Molther's teaching condemned. It is evident that among the Moravians in Germany there was already a decided trend in the direction of the absurdities of the "Time of Sifting," which in a few years came to a head (92). This explains how it is that Molther was not called to account for his teaching by the church as such.

Zinzendorf, however, sent Spangenberg to London to enquire into matters and to restore order (93). Spangenberg seems to have succeeded in reclaiming the members of the Fetter Lane Society from their errors, but it was Boehler who effected a temporary reconciliation with Wesley. While in Georgia, Boehler had been compelled by the outbreak of the war between England and Spain, to seek the assistance of Wesley's old friend, Whitefield. The latter allowed him to build on his land, but they soon disagreed and separated. Possibly their conflicting views on the subject of Election by Grace were the stumbling-block. While Whitefield held strongly to the dogma of predestination, Boehler believed in the "restoration of all things" (94). As soon, however, as Boehler returned to London, he won Wesley's affection, that is, personally. Wesley held a commemorative lovefeast with Boehler and seven of the ten men who had originally formed the Fetter Lane Society. He also called the Methodists together to a special day of prayer, in order to enquire into God's will as to whether they should re-unite with the Moravians (95). The reply they received was that the time for this had not yet come. Wesley therefore determined to keep aloof from the Brethren, since they were still too much entangled in error, and because it was impossible, owing to their want of openness, to ascertain how it stood with their various doctrinal tenets (96).

Now Spangenberg had clearly defined the doctrinal position

of the Moravian Church in an interview with Wesley, and had maintained (97) that after conversion (justification) there are in a man two lives, two hearts—the old along with the new—and that this dual condition remains until death. The old man is corrupt, and ever seeks to gain the mastery, but the new heart is stronger, and can conquer by looking unto Jesus. When he was contradicted on this point, Spangenberg, his hands trembling with excitement, exclaimed “You are all in a dangerous error. You imagine that all your corruption is taken away, while it is only covered up. The corruption of the heart can never be banished before the body returns to the dust.”

Contrary to his inclinations, Wesley obstinately held fast to his principal objections to the Brethren (98). The effect of this controversy on his subsequent treatment of the Brethren, which had been originally of a fair nature, was lamentable. His Journal begins now to betray his animosity in false statements concerning them, and some intriguing. Spangenberg had reported to Zinzendorf that he had fault to find with the behaviour of the Brethren. When the latter, in response to a request from Zinzendorf, sent a deputation to Wesley to ask his pardon, he refused to listen to them, saying that he was not offended, but that it was a doctrinal controversy, and they were not willing to abjure their errors. The truth is, that he could not endure opposition to his own views, and therefore believed that their attempt at reconciliation was not seriously meant. (Journal, 8th Sept., 1746). Each party, indeed, was so convinced of being in the right, that a reconciliation was hopeless, especially when the personal connection with Wesley ceased after Boehler's removal to Yorkshire. Add to this that Wesley was told that Zinzendorf had said that he would never care to look into the Epistle of St. James, if it were eliminated from the Canon. This was enough to cure even Charles Wesley of his tender feeling for the Brethren. When Wesley and Zinzendorf met to discuss the matter a few months later in Gray's Inn Walks (99), the result was simply that they realised more clearly how diametrically opposed they were to one another, the former maintaining

that there are degrees of faith, but also an actual state of perfection (inherent, not imputed) which begins with justification, and is ever on the increase, so that those who have been converted, eventually arrive at a condition of sinlessness. Here lay the line of separation between the Moravians and the Wesleyans. The questions about the necessity of an agony of repentance and of instantaneous conversion were not critical (100), since Wesley knew that some of the Moravians agreed with him on these points.

✓ The rupture between George Whitefield and the Brethren occurred in 1741. Doctrinal differences really caused it, but the immediate cause was the conscientious refusal of Hutton, who had hitherto been Whitefield's publisher, to print his predestinarian attack on Wesley's universalism. As the connection with Whitefield had not been very intimate, his breaking with the Brethren was not of much consequence, nor was there such a display of feeling, owing to Whitefield's conciliatory spirit. But his subsequently published "Expostulatory Letter" did much harm to the Moravian cause (101).

✓ The above mentioned conversation between Wesley and Zinzendorf in Gray's Inn Walks marks the termination of the intercourse between the Methodists and the Moravians, each body going its own way more or less peacefully, but keeping as much as possible aloof the one from the other. Now and then there was a feeling of soreness, when desertions took place from one body to the other, but the Brethren at any rate observed the courtesy of sending notice to the Wesleys when any of their people sought admission into the Moravian Church (102). John Wesley politely received the Brethren whenever they came to call on him (103). A proof that he did not lose sight of the Brethren is his publication in 1744 of extracts of Zinzendorf's "Berlin Addresses."

But the controversy produced also a literary aftermath, for which Wesley is no doubt answerable. The Fourth Part of his Journal, dated the 24th June, 1744, was dedicated to "the Moravian Church, more especially that part of it now or lately

residing in England." In this he gives his version of the history of the disruption (104).

Perhaps already, in 1741, and certainly in 1745, the Wesleys published "A Short View of the Difference," with both their signatures attached to it (105). The 1745 edition may have been called forth by an attack on Wesley regarding his connection with the Moravians in a pamphlet, in which Thomas Church, an influential clergyman of the Anglican Church, accused Wesley of having to some extent himself given rise to the errors which he lays at the door of the Moravian Church. In reply Wesley, exculpating himself and genuine Moravians, lays the blame on the English members of the Fetter Lane Society. But before this defence of Wesley's appeared, Church had begun to write "Further Remarks," and was glad to receive from Wesley, through a friend (Webb) a denial of his adherence to the Brethren. But when he read Wesley's defence of the Brethren, it was easy for him to point out to Wesley in an Appendix, that he differently criticised the Brethren in his Journal (106).

This literary by-play, as well as an attack on Wesley by the Bishop of London (107), who made mention of the Moravians, gave Zinzendorf the opportunity to publish in the "Daily Advertiser" of the 2nd August, 1745, an Explanation (108), which he had written some time previously. In it he draws attention to the differences between Methodists and Moravians, throwing out an unworthy hint of a suspicion that Methodists were willing servants of sin, and that they would "soon run their heads against the wall." Wesley does not take any notice of this Explanation in his Journal, before the 6th September, when his laconic reply is, "We will not, if we can help it" (109). His "Dialogue between an Antinomian and His Friend" was written in 1745, its opening words bearing such a likeness to his Gray's Inn conversation with Zinzendorf that it seems probable that an attack on the Moravians was intended.

For a few years Wesley came into occasional touch with the

Brethren, without, however, any new developments taking place; but in 1749 the controversy was, from some unaccountable motive, renewed. The Brethren sent a communication to the "London Daily Post," drawing attention to a supplement of the "Buedingische Sammlung," in which the conversation between Wesley and Zinzendorf was given in full, as well as Wesley's dedication of the 4th Part of his Journal, and his entry of the 15th June, 1741, concerning Luther's Commentary of the Epistle to the Galatians (110). Close upon this followed the publication (without the name of either the editor or printer) of a selection of the most questionable hymns Zinzendorf had written. The preface pointed out that Hutton's collection of Zinzendorf's hymns, from which these were culled, had no Scriptural basis whatever. It is also probable that Wesley published an anonymous pamphlet, entitled: "The Contents of a Folio History of the Moravians, or United Brethren," in which Zinzendorf's "Blood and Wounds Theology" is mercilessly torn to tatters (111). Altogether, it is noticeable that henceforth Wesley criticised the Brethren with increasing vehemence, which is perhaps attributable to the fact that the Brethren were at that time meeting with more appreciation than the Methodists. In spite of all this, however, Wesley's personal friendship with Boehler and Anton Seiffart remained unbroken.

THE HISTORY OF THE OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

Wesley's separation from the Fetter Lane Society acted as a spur to the Brethren in their work in England. Up to that time individual Moravians, mostly such as happened to be passing through, had preached and visited adherents whose names they knew. In 1738 the number of adherents had increased considerably as a result of Boehler's preaching, and one of his fellow-travellers, Richter, was the first to stay so long as about half a year in London, visiting mainly Germans, but also English people who had been awakened by Boehler's sermons. Then came an interval of absence of such German

ministers, during which several of the English visited Marienborn and Herrnhut, until the arrival in 1739 of Molther and Toeltschig from Germany, and of Spangenberg from America. Spangenberg soon left again for Germany, and the other two undertook the pastorate of the Fetter Lane Society after the rupture with Wesley. Thus the Brethren began work on their own account in England. Under Molther's preaching the Society increased rapidly, and at the same time its interest in Moravianism deepened. This latter tendency was furthered by the appearance of a translation of Zinzendorf's 16 Berlin Addresses, which Hutton dedicated to the English clergy. Now repeated requests for more Brethren were sent to Germany. With a view to carrying out Zinzendorf's favourite idea of working on the lines, not of church extension, but simply of evangelisation, Prof. Spangenberg was sent to London in March, 1741, accompanied by his wife and some of the Moravians. Meeting Boehler in Holland on his way back from America, Spangenberg took him on to London (112).

Spangenberg was now in his element as organiser. He first rented three houses in Little Wild Street, partly for his own accommodation, but also as a house of call for Brethren and Sisters passing through on their way to mission fields, or for Moravian visitors. Such had hitherto to depend on the hospitality of friends of the cause (113). The house in Wild Street was accordingly called "The Pilgrims' House." The guiding principle of the Moravians to be ready any day to rise up and go anywhere to preach the gospel is also indicated in the name "Pilgrim Church," which was adopted by Moravian and German members who settled in London, as also by young people who attached themselves to the Fetter Lane Society to enjoy the blessings of Christian fellowship. This was in imitation on a smaller scale of the Pilgrim Church and Pilgrims' House in Germany, which had at first been moved from place to place with Zinzendorf, but finally settled down at Marienborn as the centre of Moravian activity throughout the world. Whereas, however, the institution in Germany had been the outcome of

self-sacrificing zeal for foreign mission work, in England it was begun mainly with the view to promote such zeal. And there was a certain measure of success vouchsafed, so that Spangenberg was able to found among the Fetter Lane members the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. This Society was, however, intended to do more than merely influence Moravians; it was to give others who were not immediately connected with the church an opportunity to render aid, firstly by supplying the means for entertaining missionaries passing through London and further by fitting them out for their journeys, and by acting as an agency for missionaries labouring in the missions, to forward their letters and parcels. For this purpose a committee was elected, consisting of Hutton, Stonehouse, Ockershausen, and Bray, along with a representative of the Brethren's Church, the first of whom was Spangenberg. The Fetter Lane Society had the preponderating voice in the S.F.G., all the members being entitled to attend the general meetings; practically, therefore, the Fetter Lane Society was the S.F.G. (114).

Spangenberg thoroughly re-organised the Fetter Lane Society itself. It had hitherto been kept together by the personal influence of Wesley, Molther, and above all of Hutton, the bookseller. With Wesley out of the way, further development became possible. In 1741 Hutton was elected president, and Viney and Holland officers of the Society. But soon Hutton and Viney changed places, as the former had more talent for executive work. The wives of Spangenberg and Hutton were in October appointed to take the spiritual oversight of the women, and to conduct their "band-meetings." Ockershausen, a young German merchant residing in London, offered to look after the young men (115). Now, although the chief officials of the Society were English, it was specially intimated that there was no desire to be independent of the Brethren. In fact, the spiritual charge of the members was committed to Spangenberg and Molther. But it was very desirable that the permanent officials should be residents of London. In this way members of the Church of England put themselves under the spiritual

care of another church, of, however, practically the same creed, without severing their connection with their own communion. Such adherents were called "Society Members." They regarded the State Church as an external communion to which they did sufficient justice if only they signed the XXXIX Articles, and did not enter into conflict with it; for while their membership in the State Church did not depend upon their being animated by the spirit of Christ, it was this that made them members of the Church of Christ, which, or a portion of which, the Fetter Lane Society desired to represent. It was even officially considered that when such "Society Members" had their children baptised in Fetter Lane Chapel, they did not thereby sever their connection with the Church of England. The Brethren, however, generally refused to baptise children, whom they did not expect to remain under their care (116). The Lord's Supper was regarded by these "Society Members" as a closer bond of fellowship between those who had wholly devoted themselves to the service of Christ, believing that they were saved by His blood alone.

There was a meeting every Wednesday evening in the Chapel for men and women who were adherents or associates of the Fetter Lane Society, and one every Sunday evening for men only (117). The general public were also admitted to some of these meetings. Meetings of "Bands" were for the more spiritually advanced members, but not exclusively. Then in the Pilgrims' House daily meetings were held for the Germans and a few favoured English members, like Hutton. These who met in the Pilgrims' House formed the General Conference, in addition to which there were special conferences composed of certain individuals holding office in the Society. Spangenberg made several changes in the constitution of these conferences from time to time, in order to render them more effective in directing and controlling the work of the church.

Gradually the order of the services became more stereotyped, especially when Hutton published, in 1741, a hymn book

specially prepared for the Society. It contained many hymns translated from the German. Close upon this followed the Tune Book (118), and a 2nd edition of the Hymn Book was required in 1742.

Zinzendorf's visit to London (from the 1st to the 28th September, 1741), on his way to America (119), had a stimulating effect on the London Society. He presided over a Synod of the chief Moravian ministers in Germany who joined him in London. The Synod met in Red Lion Street, at the house of a Mr. Metcalf, a friend of the cause. The chief resolution passed was, that the office of General Elder for all Moravian congregations, hitherto held by Leonard Dober, be transferred to our Saviour himself (120). Several important principles were also laid down for the guidance of Moravian work in England. Fulneck, near Leeds, was to become the chief settlement and the headquarters of direction for the English congregations, in the same way as Marienborn was for Germany. By this arrangement London for a while lost its position as the centre of Moravian activity in England, the work there being mainly confined to conducting religious services for Germans, as it was not considered worth while to work among the English population. The London minister was under the Fulneck authorities, and could not take any steps without their consent (121).

For a considerable time the influence of the Brethren had not by any means been confined to the Fetter Lane Society. Both in other parts of the city and in the provinces their presence had made itself felt. In the city they had societies at Wappinghouse and Redreff (122), and 'Bands' at Hampstead and Kensington (123). In the provinces, Oxford was often visited by the Brethren, after Boehler's time: Okely preached at Bedford (124): Kinchin and Hutchins, former Oxford Methodists, preached at Basingstoke, Hants.: Simpson at Ockbrook (125): Stonehouse in Berkshire (126): Cennick, a former follower of Whitefield's, who preached with much acceptance throughout England and Ireland (127), established a Moravian Society side by side with Whitefield's at Kingswood, near

Bristol. Whitefield requested the Brethren to take charge of his converts in Scotland. But it was mainly in Yorkshire that the work of the Brethren lay. Here Ingham and William Delamotte had preached, assisted later by Toeltschig, who after his return from Georgia addressed congregations numbering thousands. He was succeeded by Reinke.

Yorkshire people were at that time regarded as the roughest portion of the population of England. They had been insufficiently provided for in the parochial system of the Anglican Church, so that the preaching of the Methodists and Moravians had the most striking results there. For this reason also the Brethren had determined to enter the county as the pioneers of Christianity, and a complete, if small, Moravian congregation, consisting of missionaries, was set apart and blessed by Spangenberg for this work. Toeltschig and Viney were appointed Elders for the men, and Mrs. Pietsch and Mrs. Gussenbauer for the women. Also sick-nurses, "Servants," and "Monitors" are mentioned. All these members of the congregation formed a special army of "Soldiers," whose chief duty it was to evangelise. Contrary to Zinzendorf's wish, Spangenberg very wisely drafted two English people, Mr. Viney and Mrs. Gussenbauer, into this "army," with a view to rendering its operations the more acceptable to the English mind. As chief in England, Spangenberg set up the head-quarters of his army in Smith House (128), near Halifax, in July, 1742.

After taking possession of Smith House, Spangenberg paid a visit to Ingham, at whose invitation mainly they had come to Yorkshire. He at once declared that the Brethren could have nothing to do with the Societies Ingham had founded, unless they had freedom to do only "what our Saviour should approve of." Ingham gave a written undertaking that the sole management of the work should be in their hands, he reserving to himself only the right to preach. Then the Societies were called together to sign a formal request to the Brethren to take them under their spiritual charge. So great was the desire to have the Brethren, that more than 1,200

signatures were appended to this memorial (129). This was the second field of labour that passed out of the hands of Wesley and his friends into those of the Brethren. In accordance with a resolution of the Synod above mentioned, the Brethren did not push the formation of congregations. On the contrary, they discountenanced the "admission" of English "Brethren and Sisters" to full Moravian membership. Spangenberg simply "confirmed" them for the Philadelphian work of evangelisation, which was the chief aim of the Moravian Church (130). In all this, not a single step was taken without recourse to the "Lot."

But if the Brethren's Church enjoyed a measure of success at this time of revival, it had also to suffer its share of the persecution that accompanied it. On their arrival at Smith House, they found all the windows smashed in. Things were still worse in London in 1741, after Whitefield had written two letters attacking the popular book, "The Whole Duty of Man," and had said of Archbishop Tillotson, who was a favourite with the masses, that he understood as little of religion as Mahomet (131). The populace, incensed at this, and mistaking the Brethren for Methodists, because they had seen Whitefield mixing with them, crowded around Fetter Lane Chapel, and threw stones at the Brethren. This necessitated the temporary closing of the chapel, the services being meanwhile held in private houses in different parts of the city (132). It also accentuated the necessity of having their legal status clearly defined.

As long as the Brethren had confined their ministrations to the German Protestants living in England, they had enjoyed the privilege of toleration, and were allowed to form congregations of such people. But as soon as they began to hold regular public services for English people in their unregistered Chapel, they were in a false position (133). At a time when religious toleration was gaining ground, and the law on the subject was uncertain, they had been safe from interference by the authorities; the more so, as in 1737 the Archbishop of Canterbury had expressed himself so strongly in their favour. But this did not

secure to them the right of claiming the protection of the State from the mob, as they had no standing in the eye of the law. Here one of the incongruities of Zinzendorf's character came to light, for although he professed obedience to the secular authority, it was against his principles to apply for a legal pronouncement on the position of the church. The Brethren in England were, however, at a loss to know how else to place themselves in a right position. On the one hand they did not wish to be classed with the Dissenters, because many of the people under their care were still to remain Anglicans, and they themselves felt to be in spiritual relationship with that Church. On the other hand the Anglican Church would not own them, because they neither had Anglican orders nor used the Book of Common Prayer. To have conformed in either of these two points would have rendered their relation to the Anglican Church one too dependent. In their perplexity they turned to Archbishop Potter, seemingly in the hope of obtaining from him a license for their chapel, in which case they would have recognition from the Anglican Church without having to conform in the matter of orders or of the use of the Prayer Book. The Archbishop was therefore informed by a deputation, that while they had their own orders and church discipline, they wished to live in amity with the Church of England. Potter, who knew nothing about their having been mobbed, replied politely, that they should enjoy full toleration as foreign Protestants, so long as they behaved quietly and did not admit too many English people into their Church, and that, as it was not in his power to afford them any further protection, this was all that they could reasonably expect of him (134).

This attempt having failed, they applied to a Justice of the Peace for a license. But it was necessary that as Dissenters they should give the name of their Church. Spangenberg therefore proposed that they should call themselves "Moravian Brethren, formerly of the Anglican Communion." Of this name the majority of the English adherents approved; for what they had heard of the organisation in Yorkshire and

America excited their desire to eventually join the Moravian Church. Henceforth they therefore regarded their adherence to the Society in Fetter Lane as a preparatory step to full membership in that Church. So Hutton had the Fetter Lane Chapel registered in the name proposed by Spangenberg. In the eyes of the Anglican authorities the London Society had herewith ceased to be a Vestry Society within the pale of the Established Church, and had become a Dissenting congregation (135). Hence comes the name Moravians, as applied to the Brethren. After this Spangenberg could no longer resist the pressing requests of many members of the Society to be admitted to full church membership. On applying for guidance by the "Lot," and receiving an affirmative answer, he felt assured that it was God's will that the Moravian Church should establish itself in England (136). Thus it came that, towards the end of 1742, a number of Brethren and Sisters belonging to the Society were admitted as full communicant members, and the following day the congregation was regularly constituted with the respective Elders for men and women, two "Wardens," two "Monitors," two "Censors," five "Servants" (two of them being women), and eight sick-attendants, of whom three were women. Also the division into "Choirs," each with its Elder, Vice-Elder, and Warden, was made. The total membership was 72, among whom there were but two or three persons of education, but every one was ready for active service in the cause of religion. Indeed, the greater number at once took part in the work taken over from the Society (137). The members of the new congregation were exclusively of English nationality, standing in no external connection with the Brethren from Germany and Moravia. A separate small German-Moravian congregation was formed in Little Wild Street, into which Germans formerly belonging to the London Society were admitted as full members. Both these congregations had their services in Fetter Lane Chapel (138). The practical work of the German congregation was the gathering in of Germans resident in London.

Zinzendorf's absence in America left the way clear for the

formation of several regular congregations in Germany as well as of the first one in England. The connection between the congregations in Germany and the one in England was very loose. The latter was supposed to send an annual report to the "Administrator" of the German congregations, enclosing the names of 20 persons set apart for foreign mission work (139). The result of this want of organised coherence of the two portions of the Church was, that in the next following seven years there was but a slight extension of the work in England, the legal status of the Church in this country remaining still undefined. Extreme caution was exercised in the admission of members even to the Society, since any mistake made in this matter would have been generally laid to the blame of the whole Church. Admission to full membership (140) was granted with still more timid reluctance. So it comes that in 1749 there were in London only about 100 members of the Moravian Church. But the general work of evangelisation done by the Church was on the increase. At first there were two public services in Fetter Lane Chapel, which were soon increased to four—two in English and two in German. The number of hearers sometimes amounted to 1,000. In 1745 the weeknight services, which had been so far held in the Pilgrims' House (141), began to be held in Fetter Lane Chapel. When the famous Methodist preacher, John Cennick, joined the Moravians, he, like Ingham before him, handed over to them one of his fields of labour, that around Tytherton, in Wilts. This formed an extension, therefore, of Moravian activity.

The progress in Yorkshire was slow, owing to the opposition met with. Ockershausen (142) was even once arrested in 1745, and in the same year one of their landlords threatened to eject the German ministers, while the English ministers were in danger of falling into the clutches of the press-gang (143). In 1744 the Yorkshire congregations numbered 62 members, and the Societies numbered 1,200 souls in six districts, served by six ministers (144). In 1745, when Martin Dober laboured in Yorkshire, the admission to the enjoyment of full privileges

were numerous (145), the membership being nearly doubled, i.e., 117; but on the other hand, the number of Society-districts fell from six to three. Then followed a period in which the German authorities seem to have neglected the work in England; for in 1747 there were but three German ministers working there (146). At the close of the five years ending in 1749, we find but 270 full members, whereas the Society had acquired a new district, and numbered 821 souls (147). The work had therefore had good results, which we shall estimate at their full value, when we remember the difficulties that had to be encountered, and the unsatisfactory position of the Church with regard to its legal status.

One of the chief difficulties the Moravian Church met with on its entrance into England lay in the difference existing between the German and English national characters. This soon led to a crisis. Unquestioning submission to the will of God, as manifested in the decisions of the authorities of the Church, its Conferences, and Synods, was the chief tie that held the slight structure of the young Church together. Now such unquestioning submission did not commend itself to the Englishman's love of liberty. It was this feeling that made Wesley ask with some concern, "Is not the Count your all in all?" The German members of the Moravian Church—those too that came to serve in England—were accustomed to accept without demur the authority of an Elder or Warden who had been appointed by the Board of Directors. To the English mind such rigorous exercise of authority appeared domineering and oppressive. This sentiment was voiced by Viney (148). He had been among the first to welcome the Brethren, having been won by Boehler's preaching in 1735. Knowing German, he had often acted as Boehler's interpreter. The work he, as their president, did was also highly prized by the members of the Fetter Lane Society. Then he had been appointed Director of the schools at Broad Oak, Essex, and was finally called to succeed Spangenberg in the superintendence of the work in Yorkshire. He also earned appreciative mention in Spangenberg's letters to Germany. But

during a short absence of Spangenberg in Germany in the autumn of 1743, Viney, after expressing his dissatisfaction with the existing method of church government, resigned his post as superintendent, and at the same time instilled into the minds of some of the ministers in Yorkshire doubts about Spangenberg and indeed the whole Brethren's Church. The consequence was that when Spangenberg returned, he found the small cause in Yorkshire in a state of agitation and disunion. Viney, on being called to account for his action, openly stated the reasons for his dissatisfaction. He chiefly condemned the "ungodly abuse of the 'Lot' in the Little Conferences, and that imperious spirit in which the head authorities ruled the Church." They bound, he said, the conscience of the individual, and the ministers arbitrarily disposed of the persons and even the property of the members of the Church. He also accused Zinzendorf and the Pilgrim Congregation of lording (149) it over the charge allotted to them. So far as Spangenberg was concerned, the justice of Viney's complaint was admitted by Martin Dober in a letter (150) he wrote to Zinzendorf. Nor did Spangenberg by his treatment of Viney succeed in putting himself in the right. Benham (p. 141) does not give a correct version of what happened. Neisser, writing in December, 1743 (see M.S. in Herrnhut, R. 13, A. 8, 3), states that Spangenberg had told him that three questions were prepared to be put to the "Lot":—1. Whether Spangenberg was in the right in the matter of the use of the "Lot" and in his method of church government; 2. Whether his conduct and that of his colleagues had been arbitrary; 3. Whether Viney was an enemy of order and "a Satan." Neisser says, that "in his modesty" Spangenberg put questions No. 1 and No. 2 to the "Lot" first, and that the decision went against him, and therefore, of course, in favour of Viney. But we fail to see the modesty alluded to, when we hear that Spangenberg insisted on the third question being then put to decision by the "Lot." However, it was put, and the decision went against Viney, who, it is said, being thereby momentarily overcome, was struck speechless. Later

on, however, he formed a different opinion of his case. However, Viney had evidently forfeited all right to be a member of the Moravian Church, firstly on account of the mode of attack he had adopted, and secondly because the motives by which he had been actuated were by no means free from the taint of ambition. He was therefore excluded. On the announcement of this fact by Spangenberg, "fear and trembling fell upon many" (151); and a salutary warning was thus given to English members—a large number of whom sympathised with Viney—not to go too far in their love of liberty. Moreover, Zinzendorf, on hearing of the widespread dissatisfaction, at once realised the danger that threatened Moravianism in England, and forthwith wrote an uncommonly sharp letter to the congregations there. In this he said, "For my part I herewith declare that I will have nothing more to do with any so-called Brethren, who have taken part in Viney's rebellion. I will be neither their Director nor their "Diakonus" I disapprove of the amnesty granted to such miscreants, children of Korah that they are, whose repentance is dictated merely by craft and cunning. I scoff at national virtues in matters of religion." (152). The effect of all this on the minds of the English Brethren was that they became convinced that the authorities at Marienborn were in search of a good excuse to disown them. To prevent this, they signed a formal declaration denouncing Viney. It is to be noted, however, that Spangenberg was recalled from England, his post being filled by Martin Dober first and subsequently by Peter Boehler (153). As Viney now began to associate a good deal with Wesley, he probably supplied the latter with a coloured version of the history of his dismissal, and probably this was the immediate cause of the publication of Part IV of John Wesley's Journal (154), with its dedication to the Brethren's Church. But Viney also proved that his rebellion had been dictated by his English horror of despotism, and not by a Methodistic feeling of antagonism to Moravians, by publishing a pamphlet in 1739, in which he accused the Methodists of making empty vessels

instead of filling them. Nay, in 1744 he caused a disruption in a Methodist congregation by his Moravian style of preaching (155). Subsequently he evinced signs of wishing to rejoin the Brethren (156); but finally fell into a careless life.

In order to prevent the recurrence of such a crisis, the English portion of the Church was brought into closer touch with the German by the introduction of the use of English translations of Moravian liturgies and books of devotion (157).

But trouble of longer duration was caused by the want of a clear definition of the position of the Moravians in England with regard firstly to the Established Church, and secondly to Zinzendorf.

The registration of Fetter Lane Chapel and the formation of the Moravian congregation in London, had done nothing to give them any clear ecclesiastical standing. The members almost without exception, belonged nominally to the Established Church, the authorities of which held that such people had not forfeited their Anglican membership by placing themselves under the spiritual charge of Zinzendorf and his representatives (158). Yet such people had, as Moravians, their own ministers, separate sacraments, and a liturgy of their own. Certainly they do appear to have gone to the Communion in their Parish Church now and then. But it was not to be expected that the Established Church would long remain satisfied with this state of things.

As to the relation of the English Moravians to Zinzendorf,—he decidedly objected, while absent in Germany, to the adoption of the name "Moravian Brethren," and sent a protest to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the hand of Bishop Nitschmann (159). In it he pointed out that although he had had his ministers working in all parts of the world, where Evangelical Churches were, with the endeavour not only to convert people, but to bring them into fellowship with one another, yet he nowhere wished the people to leave their Churches. Such people were, in fact, to form an "*ecclesiola in ecclesia*." The bond of union in the "*ecclesiola*" was exclusively a spiritual one, and the

"ecclesiola" had nothing to do with any ecclesiastical constitution. The only people who were entitled to bear the name and adopt the regulations of the Moravian Church, as such, were the actual exiles from Moravia (160). He therefore held that to call the English Society by the name of "Moravian Brethren" was inadmissible.

These conditions of uncertainty did not trouble Zinzendorf sufficiently to urge him to seek a remedy. The impulse had to come from outside, and did come in the form of sharp persecutions in all the countries in which the Brethren laboured. The financial pressure became in consequence so severe that the Brethren were compelled to draw up and distribute among their congregations lists of their commercial undertakings, in order that these might render mutual assistance to one another (161). The causes that led to the persecutions were of a very mixed character. Edmund Gibson, who was Bishop of London from 1723 to 1748, was hostile to the Methodists on account of the disturbance they had created in the Anglican Church. The Brethren also became objects of his animosity from the fact that he could not distinguish between them and the Methodists. With a view to watch the methods of the Brethren, he took into his employ Bray, a man of doubtful veracity, who had been one of the first followers of Boehler (162). In 1743 the Bishop began to threaten with excommunication any member of the Vestry Societies who should be known to attend the services of the Methodists or Moravians. In 1745 he published his "Observations upon the Conduct and Behaviour of a certain Sect usually designated by the name of Methodists," in which he treats of the Moravians as belonging to the Methodist body.

In America the Brethren were fiercely attacked by the Presbyterians and the two Methodists, Whitefield, the ever-changing, and Tennant; and in 1745 the Assembly of New York passed a law (163), compelling "vagrant preachers, Moravians, and Papists" to take the Oath of Allegiance, and to register their meeting houses. Now some of the Brethren had conscientious objections to taking the oath in any matter, though this was not

originally one of the peculiarities of the Moravian Church. But people who had belonged to the Friends or Menonites had joined the Brethren. It was therefore in the defence of the liberty of conscience of such that the Moravian Church felt morally bound to attempt to secure the right of affirmation in place of the taking of the oath. In vain did they appeal, however, to the Bishop of London, who was the man to afford them this relief in America, but who would not, although they plainly drew his attention to the difference existing between themselves and the Methodists (164).

In 1744 a suspicion arose that the Brethren both at Broad Oaks, Essex, and in Yorkshire were Papists in disguise. This was because they spoke a foreign language, and had regular meetings. Their position became particularly dangerous, because just at that time the relations between England and France were very strained, especially during the year when the Pretender renewed his attempt to gain the throne. One of the Brethren, Brown by name, was even pointed out by the people as being the Pretender himself in disguise; and when Ockershausen was arrested, search was made for arms and ammunition (165). To avert such suspicion, the Brethren presented an address of loyalty to the King, and paid a formal visit to a neighbouring Justice of the Peace. The popular excitement awakened by these suspicions, as well as by the preaching of the Methodists in Yorkshire, came to a head in the demolition of the little church belonging to David Taylor, who was a friend of the Brethren. This led to the Archbishop of York forbidding preaching in any but licensed meeting-houses (166). The Brethren were therefore compelled to register every house in which they preached. It was this that made the question of the denominational name to be adopted by them a burning one (167) in their consultations with Zinzendorf on the subject.

In their address to the King the Brethren had called themselves "United Brethren in Union with the Moravian and Bohemian Church." Spangenberg, Toeltschig, and Neisser.

acquainted as they were with the conditions existing in England, approved of this nomenclature; for they knew that, although they did not deserve the name of Dissenters, they were regarded as such, because they did not conform with the English Church; nor could they hope that their congregations, as they were, would be owned by that Church (168). Zinzendorf, however, clung obstinately to his idea of the "*ecclesiola in ecclesia*," and would not hear of the English members separating themselves from their original Churches, much less of their calling themselves "The Moravian Church." As the "Act for the Securing of His Majesty's Government in New York" expressly accorded religious liberty to the Lutherans (169), Zinzendorf hit upon the idea of adopting the name "Lutheran" for the German congregations of the Brethren in London and Yorkshire at any rate, on the ground of their adhesion to Luther's Theses. He evidently intended to drop the English portion of the Brethren's Church altogether. But Dober and Neisser, at the request (170), it would appear, of their people, asked that the name should apply also to the English members. The Theses were translated into English, and after studying them, the majority were in favour of adopting the designation "Old Lutheran Protestants" (171). The Synod of Marienborn in 1744 gave its sanction to this name. There were, however, among the English members particularly, some who very strongly objected to it,—a few so much so that they entirely separated themselves from the others. One of these recusants was William Holland (172). They declared themselves to be, though deeply attached to Moravianism, little inclined to adopt a foreign name for the Church merely to please Count Zinzendorf, especially as their position resulting from it would entail the forfeiture of their ecclesiastical rights, and their being classed with Dissenters (173) by the Established Church,—a probability they regarded with horror. On the other hand, they held that as "United, or Moravian Brethren," they could be accepted as a brotherhood within the pale of the Anglican Church. They therefore resolutely clung to the name "United Brethren" as

their official designation, and to that of "Moravians" as the popular one. In this way, they said, they would have the double advantage of being known by both a shorter and plainer appellation.

Zinzendorf, however, would not let himself be moved by this national appeal, but proceeded to prepare a plan for establishing an "ecclesiola" under the presidency of Archbishop Potter, the members of which were to remain Anglicans. Its ministers were to be members of the Anglican Church, who had received ordination at the hands of Anglican and Moravian Bishops conjointly. The Book of Common Prayer, which Zinzendorf had examined, was to be used in the Sunday public services (174). In order to gain his point, Zinzendorf did his best to loosen the connection between the English Brethren and the Moravians in Germany. Coming to London on this errand, he summoned a "Synodal Conference" in 1746, at which he induced the assembled members to pass a resolution to this effect:—That with the exception of the chief part of the Church in Yorkshire, and in the Brethren's Chapel in London, the Germans should not undertake the work of evangelisation, and that the credit of any former spiritual awakening should be ascribed to the endeavours of the Methodists in the first place, and of Brethren of English nationality in the second place. The English Brethren might fight it out with their Bishops, and "we can hold ourselves aloof like the good children we are." Further, Synod authoritatively recorded it as a fact that this plan had the approval of our Saviour. Let—it was said—let John Wade, Horn, and such men convert 10,000 people, and our Brethren will give their aid, wherever it may be required (175).

Thereupon Zinzendorf wrote to and visited Archbishop Potter, with a view to devise a method for the re-admission into the Anglican Church of such as had joined the Brethren. Here he proposed that he himself be the superintendent of Anglican Moravianism. This in pursuance of his "Tropenprinzip" (176). As a proof of the sincerity of the Moravians, and with the object of persuading their adherents to accept this plan, the ministers

were willing to make the Book of Common Prayer their book of devotions until such time as they might be permitted to use it as their regular form of prayer. This last was a suggestion of Gambold's (177). The Archbishop was at first complaisant; but when Zinzendorf continued to ply him with new proposals, he absolutely refused to hear him further. There was, in reality, no prospect at all of Zinzendorf's plan being carried out. For although religious toleration was gaining ground in England, its advocates had not yet reached the point of considering it possible that another Church, and that a foreign one, could be safely and successfully grafted into the Anglican Church. Moreover, Archbishop Potter died in 1747. However, under his successor, Herring, hitherto Archbishop of York, a solution of the difficulty was arrived at in a more satisfactory, if less idealistic way, viz. : by Act of Parliament.

Already, in 1745, the Brethren had, through their "Deputatus ad Reges" (178), Abraham von Gersdorf, petitioned the proper authorities, Lord Granville the Premier, the Primate, and the Board of Trade and Plantations, for the repeal of the New York "Act for Securing, &c.," which was renewable every year. This was one of the reasons why Zinzendorf came to England in 1746; for the mission work was ever the first object of his solicitude. We have seen that the Archbishop of Canterbury was favourably inclined—not so the Bishop of London. However, Thomas Penn, the owner of Pennsylvania, and General Oglethorpe, the Governor of Georgia, men who were both well acquainted with the work of the Brethren in the Colonies, lent their aid to Zinzendorf, and advised him to memorialise Parliament, praying for the placing of the Moravian Church on a secure basis in the Colonies. Zinzendorf therefore sounded the opinion of the Court and Parliament through Marquis de Schaub, a Frenchman possessing great influence at Court, with whom he had formerly become acquainted when in France. On leaving for the Continent in November, he was able to supply his London agent, Cossart, with good letters of recommendation, and soon after an Act was passed in the Brethren's favour.

A Pennsylvanian law had in 1743 granted the privilege of affirmation in lieu of the oath to foreign Protestants who had conscientious scruples. Penn himself stated that the Moravian Brethren had been specially named. What was therefore now wanted was that an amendment in conformity with this Pennsylvanian law be made in the Act passed in 1740 for the whole of British North America, which would grant naturalisation to all Protestant foreigners who had been resident for seven years, subject to their taking the Oath of Allegiance; the Friends alone having been hitherto allowed to affirm in England. The only way to accomplish this was by getting a Bill brought into Parliament. This Oglethorpe undertook to do, and, thanks to his aid and Penn's influence, an Act was passed in 1747, incorporating the provisions of the Pennsylvanian Act of 1743 in the General Naturalisation Act of 1740. The representatives of the Colonies had supported the Bill. Its most formidable opponent, the Bishop of London, was absent from the House of Lords through sickness when the bill was brought into the Upper House. Thus it passed without difficulty (179). Now, although no reference was made in the Act to the ecclesiastical status of the Moravian Church, the Brethren reaped the benefit of it as a religious body, whose members were specially mentioned, as "sober, quiet and industrious people." Oglethorpe afterwards pointed to the fact that this Act would be a proof that Parliament had recognised the Moravian Church as a Protestant Church; for otherwise the new clause would not have been allowed to be inserted in the former Act (180). "At any rate," said he, "we have gained from Parliament something we had not before." A further slight advantage accrued from this, that new friends had been gained in Parliament, e.g., Lord Baltimore, Lord Dublin, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, and the Duke of Newcastle.

But Zinzendorf was not yet satisfied. In the first place, the Brethren were officially termed "Moravian Brethren," and further, the incidental character of their recognition did not guarantee them protection against the malice of detractors,

and the ill-will of prelates. He thought that the proper mode of procedure would be, to make the Brethren's case the subject of a thorough enquiry prior to any official recognition. Adopting this view, a Synod held in 1748, commissioned Zinzendorf, A. von Gersdorf as "Senior," von Schrautenbach as "Assessor," and Nitschmann as "Syndic," together with their agent, Cossart, to apply to Parliament for an Enquiry. This deputation, starting for England at the beginning of 1749, was followed by a company of colonists going out to Pennsylvania, and some natives of Greenland returning to their own country.

After some hesitation, Zinzendorf agreed to follow the advice of Penn and Oglethorpe, (181) to present in the first place a Petition, praying that the Moravian colonists in America might be entirely exempted from taking the oath and from military service. Circumstances were, however, anything but favourable to the Brethren's cause; for on November 22nd an edict had been issued in Hanover banishing the Brethren, and banning and suppressing their publications. This was the more indicative of the feeling at the British Court, as there were at that time really none of the Brethren in Hanover. Further, it was reported to Zinzendorf that Lord Baltimore and Lord Dublin had grown lukewarm in their support of the cause, and that some of the Bishops, including the new Bishop of London, Thomas Sherlock (1748-1761), were decidedly hostile to the Petition. In vain did Chevalier Schaub endeavour to win the Hanoverian Prime Minister, Von Muenchhausen. Oglethorpe did his utmost in support of Zinzendorf, who did not allow himself to go here, as in America, by the name of "Brother Ludwig," but threw the whole weight of his rank as an Imperial Count into the scales, in order thus to win influential men for his cause.

On the 20th February Oglethorpe presented a Petition in the House of Commons, praying simply that the Brethren might enjoy religious liberty in the Colonies, and especially that they be exempted from the oath and military service; they promising that they would, in the prosecution of their plans, send out

none but their best men to the British Colonies, if this boon were granted. Once more we notice that the whole of the proceedings turned upon the question of colonisation.

The unreliable nature of the Parliamentary Reports of that period becomes apparent in this matter. The "Parliamentary History," and the "Journals" of both Houses (published later) do not even mention the debates on this question. However, "The Universal Magazine" (April and May, 1750) gives a detailed report of the Parliamentary proceedings. This report, which also appeared in a separate form, was evidently worked up from information gained from the "Gentleman's Magazine" and the "London Magazine." As such, it can therefore claim no great authority*. However Nitschmann, who took part in the proceedings himself, has left a collection of papers, among which we find a record of the voting that took place in the House of Commons, and there is further a description of the debates in the diary entries of some of the Brethren who were present, in which the dates and results of the various "Readings" are given. Moreover, Schrautenbach, in his "Count Zinzendorf," writes of this matter as an eye witness (182). These are the sources whence Croeger and Johannes Plitt gained their information, while Benham simply gives a translation of Plitt's narrative (183).

According to the original private reports, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Plumtree, speaking in the name of the party that was hostile to the Brethren, deprecated any action of Parliament, by which it would lend itself to be exploited in the interests of a "dangerous set of people." But Horace Walpole, Wm. Yonge, Cornwall, Hay, and Stretton traversed this description of the Brethren, and proposed the appointment of a committee of enquiry, which was carried. Though the proceedings were unduly prolonged by the intrigues of the opponents of the Brethren, this advantage accrued to Zinzendorf,

Note. (By L. G. Hassé.)

*In the Catalogue of the London Archives there is a M.S. Note to this publication to the effect that General Oglethorpe was the author. In this case the narrative must be held to have the value of an original document, as coming from a member of the House, who was present at the proceedings.

that he gained time to collect documentary evidence containing more than 135 points, which was subsequently printed in whole or in part, with the title "*Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia.*" The following is a digest of the argument of the Report:—1, The petitioners were deputies sent by the Moravian Church; 2, Members of others Protestant churches also joined with them in this Petition; 3, The United Brethren had settlements in America; 4, Such settlements were numerous; 5, The settlers were industrious; 6, the settlements were self-supporting, so that 7, they did not seek nor require any subsidy; 8, Their operations would at that time be more extended, had they enjoyed religious liberty; 9 and 10, The Moravians were recognised both in England and in other countries and by other Churches as an Ancient Protestant Church; 11 and 12, They had received support from England both long ago and recently; 13, They were a people of a peaceable disposition, only desiring religious liberty; 14 and 15, Conscientious scruples led them to plead for exemption from the oath and military service,—a concession that was reasonable, and had been granted them in other countries; 16 and 17, They already enjoyed religious liberty in other places, and only on the condition of its being accorded to them in America, would they send any more colonists thither.

The arguments produced in favour of the Petition having been examined by a Committee in three open sessions, Oglethorpe laid them before the House of Commons on the 25th March, 1749, and leave was granted to bring in "A Bill for Encouraging the People known by the name of '*Unitas Fratrum*' or '*United Brethren*' to settle in His Majesty's Colonies," Oglethorpe and Velters Cornwall being respectively the proposer and seconder of the Bill.

Zinzendorf's counsel, White, now drafted the Bill. The preamble stated that the United Brethren were desirable colonists, and that they had been countenanced and supported by His Majesty's predecessors, as belonging to an Ancient Protestant and Episcopal Church. The Bill provided that to all mem-

bers of this Protestant Episcopal Church should be accorded the privilege to make affirmation in place of taking the oath in all cases at law. This privilege—and this was the main new point gained—was not to be limited to Moravians residing in the Colonies, but it was to be expressly enacted that affirmation in the place of the oath should be valid in all Courts of Justice within the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland on all occasions on which the oath was administered, as also in all the colonies and possessions whatsoever of His Majesty. Membership in this Church was to be attested by the Bishops and Ministers of the same, the Directing Board being under an obligation to furnish the English Government with a certified list of its accredited ministers every year. The Bill was read for the first time in the House of Commons on the 28th March, and passed the third reading on the 18th April, after a newly-appointed Committee had once more submitted the Petition to a fresh examination. This examination was not conducted from a historico-theological point of view, as we can easily imagine, and as can be proved by the fact that an historical error was allowed to pass unchallenged. Zinzendorf has, namely, in his “*Acta Fratrum*,” represented Johann a Lasco as being a Bishop of the Ancient Brethren’s Church at the time of his visit in England in the year 1550; whereas it was only after his return home from this visit that he became at all acquainted with the Ancient Brethren (184). But Parliament was only concerned about points connected with Colonial finance and politics, which seemed to present some difficulties. There was an inclination on the part of some to limit the proposed enactments to the case of the Colonies and of foreigners. However, Oglethorpe succeeded in convincing the House that should such limitation take place, the Act would be practically worthless, since all cases coming up for trial in America might be sent to England for revision; and that in any case the children of foreign colonists born in America would be excluded from the benefits of the Act.

The Bill having been passed by the House of Commons, the

greater difficulty remained, to carry it through the Upper House. The Bishops had, indeed, at a meeting they had held at Easter, agreed to withdraw their opposition—the Bishop of London alone excepted. This decision was come to, not, indeed, soon enough to influence Anglican M.P.s to vote in favour of the Bill, but yet not too late to remove some of the obstacles that threatened to wreck it in the Upper House. Wonderful to say, sixteen Presbyterian Lords, with the Duke of Argyle at their head, for once made common cause with Episcopalians on a religious question by supporting the bill—in this instance because the Brethren had Elders as well as Bishops. But the Bishop of London, with the Court party, and the Duke of Newcastle, opposed the bill, and moved and carried the adjournment of the debate. This was regarded as a bad omen. On the 7th March the debate was resumed in a House of 73 Lords, which went into committee in order to give Lord Halifax, the Lord Chancellor, the opportunity to take part in the debate. Halifax objected to the principle of authorising a foreign Count or his representatives to give certificates of membership. This, he said, would amount to granting to foreigners a power of jurisdiction in English territories. On the other side, Lord Granville, the Duke of Argyle, and others spoke in favour of the measure. Once more the debate was adjourned. Zinzendorf, fearing lest the purity of the church might be endangered, if anyone should be allowed to declare himself a member of it, met Lord Halifax's objection by suggesting that a personal declaration should go hand in hand with—not as a substitute for—a Bishop's certificate. Bishop Sherlock having been also satisfied by explanations offered to him by Zinzendorf, and after a closer examination of the documents, the Bill, as amended in accordance with Zinzendorf's suggestion, was unanimously passed by the Lords on the 12th May, exactly 25 years after the actual founding of the church of the Brethren at Herrnhut. On the 6th June the Royal Assent to the Act was read.

Thus the Brethren's congregations in England were by the

law of the realm recognised as belonging to an Ancient Protestant and Episcopal Church, bearing the venerable name, "Unitas Fratrum," that had been borne by the Ancient Brethren's Church of Bohemia. Their connection with Germany was also sanctioned.

The first period of the history of the Brethren's Church in England closes with this Act—an event of vital importance. Certainly it did not at once put an end to persecutions by evil-disposed persons; but then the fact was there, that the cause of the Brethren, after having formed the subject of an Enquiry, had received public recognition by Act of Parliament. True, Zinzendorf had been compelled to throw overboard his pet plan of making the Brethren's Church an integral part of the Anglican Church. As Ritschl says (185), "he did not succeed in laying the Moravian Church in the lap of the Anglican." The two churches now stood side by side, the former enjoying full recognition as a related Protestant Church, and at the same time possessing full freedom to build itself up as it wished upon the foundation thus laid. It did begin to build, and that diligently; in 1749 it extended its operations to Ireland, where Cennick's preaching was crowned with blessing; new congregations were founded,—in Dublin and at Ockbrook in 1750, at Fulneck (Gracehall), Gomersal, Kilwarlin, Mirfield, and Wyke in 1755, and in 1757 at Kingswood, near Bristol. The name "Moravians" did not die out, in spite of the name given by Act of Parliament, but remained the popular and best-understood name. The relations between the English and German branches of the Church had not been defined by the Act. This had to be effected in the course of time. But at least there was now no fear of the English congregations being severed from the Brethren's Church. This applies even to the practically German congregation in London, for whose members Oglethorpe had, in the name of the German deputies that brought the Petition, contended for the same privileges that the rest of the Moravians in England enjoyed. Even Zinzendorf grew to be reconciled with the idea of the English con-

gregations belonging to his fold. Pleased with the substantial gains resulting to the Moravian Church, he might well bear the pain of unfulfilled private desires.

This Act determined the whole course of the development of the Brethren's Church in all parts. With the incorporation of the English congregations, an entirely new element entered into the Church. The Brethren in Germany stood in the relation of absolute dependence on Zinzendorf. His spirit was their spirit, his will, with very few exceptions, their will. The Congregation of Pilgerruh, which was supposed to be independent of him, ceased to exist (186). Until now the impracticable nature of the Count's high ideals had acted as a drag on sober and vigorous development abroad. With the English congregations it was different. The gospel-taught love to Christ and to our neighbour had been preached by the Brethren with zeal, and without any suspicion of self-seeking on their part, and the cause had been established by hard, self-sacrificing work (187). In the conflict with former friends their religious tenets had passed through a maze of misapprehensions into the plain path of Truth. They had remained faithful through persecutions, and sore trials. Clinging persistently and loyally to the Anglican Church to the last, they had nevertheless been compelled by the hostile bearing of that very church to leave it. Only then had they endeavoured to gain an independent standing as a Church, not in order to secure for themselves ease at home, but that they might make the mission-work abroad easier for their German brethren. They had first to sacrifice membership in the church of their fathers before they could, at great pains, secure recognition as members of the "Unity of the Brethren." Of such companions German Brethren had verily no need to be ashamed, but might feel assured such men had the same spirit of service as they themselves, though they had entered into the Church in a different way, and with a more independent mind. The spirit of service in the English Brethren is certainly not due to the suggestive influence of one or another of their spiritual leaders; for the frequency of the changes

among the German ministers in England was sufficient to have prevented such personal influence. No, the English have to thank their independence of mind for a securer basis for further progress, because, soon after the year 1740, it was this very virtue that rendered the English congregations immune against infection by the follies of the "period of sifting" that the German congregations suffered from.

Zinzendorf's subsequent transference of his headquarters to England for the next few years tended to weld the German and British portions of the Church more firmly together, and opened a channel through which there flowed to the entire Brethren's Church a tide of energising influence springing from British Moravianism.

THE END.



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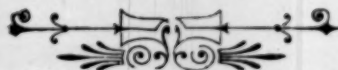
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